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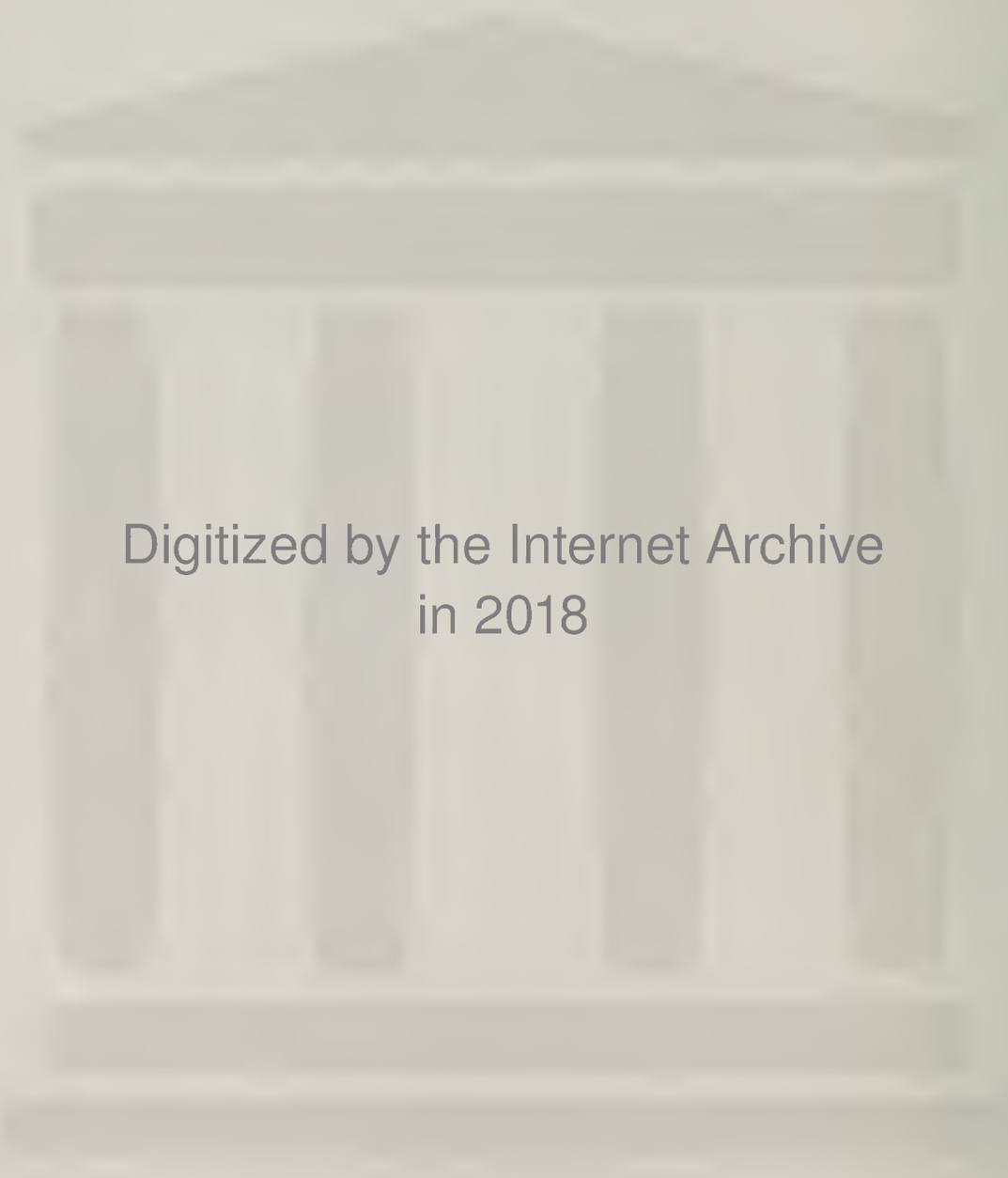

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CHENEYS AND WYATTS

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CHENEYS AND WYATTS

A Brief History in Two Parts

BY

STANLEY CHARLES WYATT

a namesake

The part-pedigrees on which this book is largely based, and the particulars relating to individuals throughout, have been obtained chiefly from the excellent Library of the Society of Genealogists, supplemented by extracts from publications and other documents in the Public Record Office. I am indebted to the Keepers of the Public Record Office for permission to reproduce the texts of a letter from Sir Thomas Wyatt to his son Thomas and of letters from William Wyatt of Bursledon and his widow to the Board of the Navy. I am also under an obligation to the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office for permission to use material extracted from the Public Records and from official publications.

S.C.W. 1959.

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To Sylvia

H 10.00 - 1.0, 2470 - 10-23-14 Stewart Soc. KDS H

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The ancient Arms of Cheney

"Ermine on a bend Sable three martlets Or"

Part I - The Cheneys

PROLOGUE

As Parson Tringham, the antiquary, was jogging along the West Country road on his grey mare he met Jack Durbeyfield, the haggler, who touched his hat to the Parson, who said: "Good-night, Sir John." When Jack asked him why he called him Sir John, the Parson replied: "Don't you know, Durbeyfield, that you are the lineal representative of the ancient and knightly family of the d'Urbervilles who derive their descent from Sir Pagan d'Urberville, that renowned knight who came from Normandy with William the Conqueror, as appears by Battle Abbey Roll? Your ancestor was one of the twelve knights who assisted the Lord of Estremaville in Normandy in his conquest of Glamorganshire. Branches of your family held Manors all over this part of England; their names appear in the Pipe Rolls in the time of King Stephen. In the reign of King John one of them was rich enough to give a Manor to the Knights Hospitallers; and in Edward the Second's time you forefather, Brian, was summoned to Westminster to attend the Great Council there. You declined a little in Oliver Cromwell's time, but to no serious extent, and in Charles the Second's reign you were made Knights of the Royal Oak for your loyalty. Aye, there have been generations of Sir Johns among you and, if knighthood were hereditary like a baronetcy, as it practically was in old times when men were knighted from father to son, you would be Sir John now."

"You don't say so, Sir. And where do we d'Urbervilles live now?" "You don't live anywhere. You are extinct, as a County family that is; gone down, gone under. Once you had lands in abundance, for your family consisted of numerous Branches." "And what had I better do about it, Sir?" "Oh, nothing, except chasten yourself with the thought: 'How are the mighty fallen.' It is a fact of some interest to the local historian and genealogist, nothing more. There are several families among the cottagers of this County of almost equal lustre. Good-night."

From "Tess of the d'Urbervilles,"
by THOMAS HARDY.

Chapter 1

SOURCES

AN OLD PHRASE tells us that truth is sometimes stranger than fiction. It can certainly be just as strange, for there are family names to-day of which the bearers may have, in fact, the lineage which Jack Durbeyfield had in fiction, and to whom the broad sketch of his forbears which Parson Tringham gave him might be applied in truth. One of these families is Cheney (Cheyne or Cheyney), a name which, for several hundred years, was borne by men many of whom were outstanding in the qualities for which their epochs gave scope. If their various families and branches were grouped into one clan, their story would be virtually the story of England, for they took part in battles and rebellions, as well as in local and in national government, from the days of Hastings to those of Waterloo. As Knights of the Shire and High Sheriffs of the Counties when Sheriffs were very important men wielding executive powers direct from the King, the Cheneys administered and governed.

During the period of nearly five hundred years, from the first Great Council of King John to the first Parliament of Queen Anne, there were held 236 Parliaments and for 190 of them there are in existence full Returns of the names of the Members and of their Constituencies. (For the remaining 46 Parliaments, no Returns, or only partial ones, exist.)

It is a remarkable fact that in 81 of those 190 Parliaments there was at least one Cheney, or a Cheyne, either as Knight of the Shire or as a Member for a City or a Borough, or as a Baron of Parliament. Of them, at least forty were different individuals, although it is not always easy to separate the various Johns, Rogers and Hughs from one another. In other words, a Cheney was in Parliament in fourteen of the twenty-two reigns covering that period. In the 14th century twelve Counties were represented by a Cheney.

Their record as High Sheriffs is even more extraordinary, for more than thirty Cheneys served (and some more than once) as Sheriffs of the fifteen Counties of Norfolk, Derby, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Cambridge, Surrey, Sussex, Kent, Devon, Somerset, Dorset and Wiltshire. The earliest one was William de Chesney for Norfolk in 1146 (King

Stephen) and the last was Edward Henshaw Cheney for Derby County in 1860, seven hundred-odd years later. One of their name was a Sheriff in every one of the eight centuries from the twelfth to the nineteenth. Thomas Fuller wrote 300 years ago: "The name of Cheney is so noble and diffused through the catalogue of Sheriffs that it is harder to miss them than to find them in so many Counties."

Although, of course, it is true that in the old days the propertied classes, being the important men in their Counties, had what was almost an hereditary right to be nominated Knights of Parliament and Sheriffs, yet it is extraordinary that the Cheney families maintained for so long their property and social status. It only needed for one of them, the head of the family or the heir, to be attainted and for his lands to be confiscated without subsequent pardon and restoration, or for another to have dissipated the family estates by extravagance, for the long record to be broken and for the following generations to be poverty-stricken and to sink into social oblivion.

The Cheneys survived the upheaval which culminated in the battle of Boroughbridge in 1322, although two of them were captured by the King's Forces and, as a family, they survived the Wars of the Roses, which killed off a whole generation of many families. During the reign of Richard the Third some of the Cheneys managed to escape to Brittany and returned to England with Henry Tudor. There seems to have been something more than sheer good fortune to explain their survival and their long line of service to the State.

Theirs is a fascinating story on the whole, especially if contemporary history is mingled with their genealogy through the ages. A mere pedigree, even a long one, has a very limited interest except to a member of the family concerned. To others it can be merely a collection of names and dates; a bare skeleton without flesh and blood. But clothe it with some history and the dry bones live again. To most of us our knowledge of English history is composed of the more colourful events and individuals. It is largely of battles which, even to-day, when we are all pacifists, stir our blood. We call to mind Crecy, Agincourt, Bannockburn, the Wars of the Roses and, later, Trafalgar and Waterloo. And we think of Joan of Arc, Robert Bruce, Oliver Cromwell, Nelson and Wellington, and a host of others. They stir the imagination and help us to picture more easily the type of Cheney who lived in those days, the armour or the costume he wore, the kind of language he spoke and the sort of life he led.

As was written many years ago: "The act of tracing up some person to his forefathers, or the reverse of this process, the following of the lineage of some worthy of olden time onward down the stream, observing the tributaries that flow into the main channel and the

streamlets that issue from it, all this systematically undertaken leads the student through the most picturesque regions of historical romance."

And so we will try to pass through some such region with the Cheneys, whose name has been spelt in so many different ways, de Caineto, le Kan, Cheine, Chenduit, Cheyne, Cheney and Cheyney, according to the epoch, to the Branch, or to the phonetic vagaries of the early scribes before Cheneys could write or spell. There was also de Cahaignes, from which sprang the Keynes of to-day and between whom and the Cheneys there was some confusion and possibly a common ancestor.

A well-known armorial and genealogical expert has stated that if any ordinary individual tells you he is descended in the male line from someone who figures in the glorious Roll of Battle Abbey, or that his ancestor came over with the Conqueror, write him down a perverter of the truth at once. This hazard will not be run here on behalf of any living Cheney, for such a claim is not our primary object, though any reader can draw his own deductions from the evidence. Nor is it intended to produce herein complete Cheney pedigrees, which cover a period of six hundred years at least, and which, in the very early years, contain a few weak links which could be soldered by reasonable assumption. Few, if any, pedigrees back to the Houses of Normandy and Plantagenet could pass the test of proof applied by the modern professional genealogist, who looks largely to the Parish Registers which were only started in the middle of the 16th century. Prior to that, the evidence available is of a wholly different character, of course, and even that only exists in the cases of families who were landowners or otherwise well-to-do. For them, there are the various records, fortunately preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum and elsewhere.

Of the Pipe Rolls instituted by Henry the First, the earliest one (1131) mentions Cheneys. These Rolls contain the Sheriffs' Accounts for receipts from taxes and scutage, as well as the expenses involved, and they are invaluable for names and particulars of property-owners who were liable for taxation and for military service. The Feet of Fines, dating from 1182 (Henry the Second) and existing for some 650 years afterwards, record final settlements about the ownership of land and transfers of land from one owner to another. The first of hundreds of references to Cheney was in 1198 (Richard the First). The Close Rolls, the Charter Rolls and the Patent Rolls dating from about 1200 (King John) contain many such references. Then there are the Plea Rolls, which give innumerable part-pedigrees of two or three generations of families by which such pedigrees were put in

to support some hereditary right or claim. There are various other Rolls dating from the early King Edwards; the Inquisitions post mortem which were held by the Escheators for the collection of the feudal Death Duties, the heir having to pay to the King a year's revenue before obtaining possession of his lands; and many other such sources. From all these Rolls and from old Charters, a mass of information can be gleaned about individual Cheneys, as about other families of their social standing.

Chapter 2

ORIGIN

THE ORIGINAL Hastings Roll which, on the instructions of William the Conqueror, was prepared by the monks not long after the battle and which hung in Battle Abbey for some years, is lost and so, although it was used by later chroniclers as a source of information, it is no longer available for reference. In any case that Roll had lost some of its value because later monks were suspected of adding to it names of men who had not taken part in the Battle but who had come to England subsequently. It was not until Elizabethan times that, with one exception in the 14th century, there were produced several Rolls of Normans who had fought at Hastings, including the Rolls of Hollingshead, Stow and Duchêne. Finally, and although late in the day not the least reliable of them all, a List was prepared by Delisle in 1862 for the Societé Française d'Archéologie and the names were cut in stone in the Church at Dives.

Whatever doubts may have been cast upon the complete authenticity of the original Battle Roll, there are names in all the subsequent Rolls of men who undoubtedly fought at Hastings, and among them are three individuals named Chaunduit, Cheine and Guillaume de Cahaignes, of which the two former names became Cheyne or Cheyney or Cheney, and the third evolved into Keynes. These Rolls contain the names of many Normans who became important men in England, including those of some families with which the Cheyneys were linked or became linked, either by marriage or as their sub-tenants in Normandy or in England; particularly these of de Warenne and de Saye.

Various authorities, Elizabethan and modern, differ as to the place in Normandy or Brittany from which the Cheyneys came. One states that it was from Le Quesnay, near St. Saens and Bellencombre in the Seine Infèrieure, or alternatively from another Quesnay in the Canton of Montmartin in La Manche, Brittany. Another says that they came from a village called Chéneduit, just west of Putanges in the Orne in Normandy, where they would have been neighbours, and probably tenants, of the de Sayes. As to the Cahaignes, they are said to have come from a village of that name in the Canton of d'Annay in Calvados, from the Fief of the Comte de Mortain, a half-brother of the Conqueror, who was afterwards created Earl of Corn-

wall and who held no less than 800 Manors in twenty Counties of England.

Leaving that question unsettled, as it has been for so long and by so doing avoiding its pitfalls, we are on firmer ground in stating that, between the dates of Hastings and Domesday, the families which we are to call Cheyney, Cheney or Cheyne were tenants in England of three of the Conqueror's overlords, de Mortain, de Warenne and de Saye, as they had been, and for a time continued to be in Normandy or Brittany. Their name is still preserved in several Counties as Chenies (Bucks), Middleton Cheney (Northants), Horsted Keynes in Sussex, Rodbourne Cheney in Wilts and Litton Cheney in Dorset.

Another difficulty is to recognise and reconcile the names which are in the various Rolls with those in Domesday. In that connection, one must remember that during those twenty years many of the men who were over (say) forty-five years of age at Hastings had died by Domesday, apart from those who were killed in the Battle itself or in the sporadic fighting which often took place subsequently when rival claimants were trying to get possession of the lands which had been granted to them in capite or as sub-tenants, though in either case subject to military and other service.

It has been recognised by more than one authority that few families can have been the subject of such genealogical confusion and controversy as that of Cheney (Cheyne). This was partly due to the different ways in which their Norman place-name was spelt in the various Battle Rolls, partly to the difficulty of recognising those same individuals in Domesday, and partly to the phonetic spelling (in Latin or in French) of the monks and other scribes in the 12th and 13th centuries. In the face of such difficulties, to write fully about the various branches and individuals would fill volumes and it is doubtful whether so much genealogical and biographical detail would justify itself.

What follows, therefore, is a slight sketch with a large brush, avoiding much of the detail, indicating broadly the various branches without the inclusion of all younger sons, while making short references to the more outstanding individuals, and with no claim to absolute genealogical accuracy.

There were two main families dating from Hastings or, at any rate, from Domesday, and in order to reduce confusion, we have called one of them FAMILY "A" and the other one FAMILY "B", spelling the former Cheney and the latter Cheyne—an artificial and autocratic distinction which demands apologies to those whose name was

spelt in the opposite way, or as Cheyney or Chesney, as many of each of the families were.

At Domesday, Family "A" held lands in Sussex and in Norfolk under William de Warenne. Later, they also held lands in Kent under William de Saye at Patricksburn and at Shurland, and still later in West Woodhay (Berks), in Milsted (Kent) and in Warbleton (Sussex). We shall find repeated references to the de Sayes under Family "A".

Family "B" held lands under Robert, Count de Mortain, in Middleton and elsewhere in Northants. Later they held in Langley (Herts), in Isenhamsted Chenies, Drayton Beauchamp and Chesham Bois in Bucks and, still later, in Bramblehanger and in Sundon in Bedfordshire.

Chapter 3

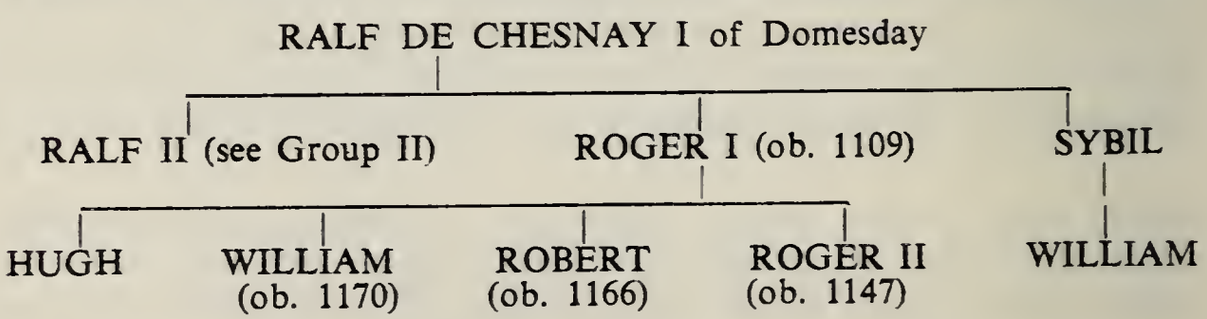
THE CHENEYS OF SUSSEX AND KENT

THIS family sprang from a Ralf de Chesnay who, at Domesday, was located in Sussex and Norfolk. Their properties held by later generations can be followed to Patricksburn and to Shurland in Kent, to Warbleton, Houghton and Cralle in Sussex, to West Woodhay in Berkshire, to Uphavon in Wilts and to Toddington in Bedfordshire.

Ralf married Maud de Wateville and held fourteen Knights' Fees and Manors under William de Warenne, a son-in-law of the Conqueror, who in 1087, was created Earl of Surrey. This William de Warenne had abducted Isabel de Vernandois (a granddaughter of King Henry the First of France) from her husband and had forcibly married her. It was through her that the de Warennes adopted the famous coat of arms "Chequy Or and Azure," one of the few ancient Coats which can be traced back to the beginning of heraldry.

It may be convenient to split the Cheney pedigree into small Groups of two or three generations and to follow each Group with some remarks about individuals.

Group I. Period — William the Conqueror to King Stephen.



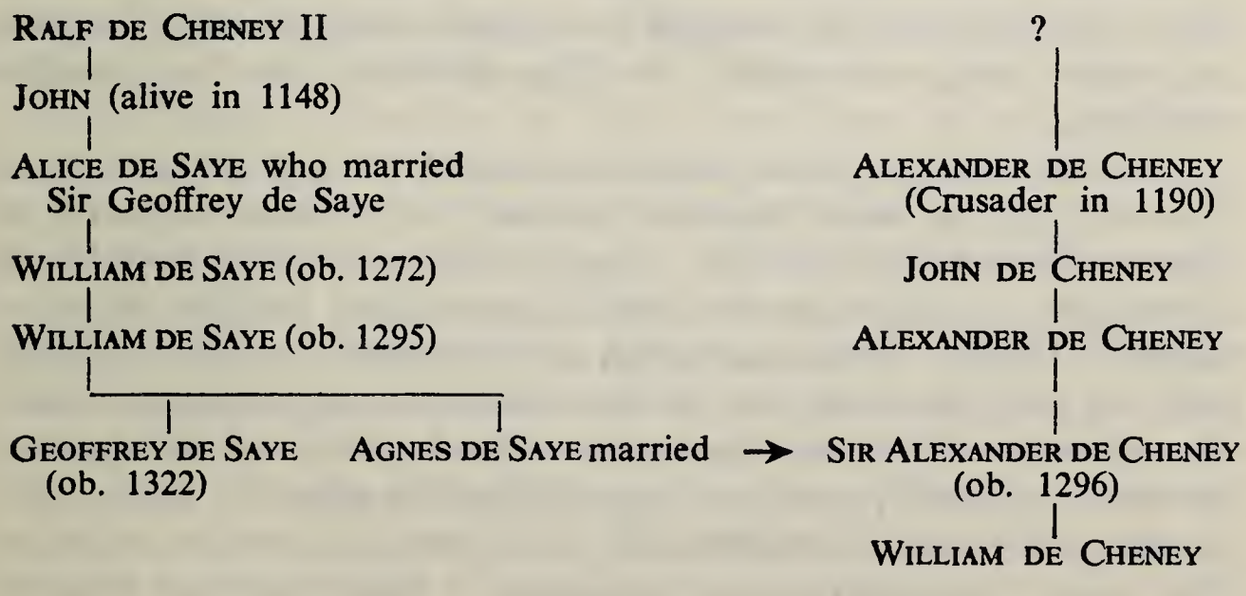
Of Ralf I's children, his eldest son, Ralf II, was the ancestor of the Shurland Branch, Roger of the Oxfordshire and West Sussex Branch, and his daughter Sybil was the ancestress of a short-lived Branch in Norfolk. Of Roger's four sons, the descendants of Hugh faded out in the male line with his grand-children. The second son, William, was an important man in his day, being Governor of Oxford City and a loyal supporter of King Stephen during the period of that monarch's adversities. In 1153 William de Chesnay commanded the Royal Forces which were defeated by Henry Plantagenet (afterwards

King Henry the Second) near Oxford. He held nine Fees under his brother Robert who was Bishop of Lincoln and who had the reputation of looking after the members of his family too well, at the expense of lands which belonged to his Diocese. Roger II held lands in Graffham and elsewhere in West Sussex and, a century later, Houghton Manor in that County came to his descendants through a marriage and remained with them until the end of the 16th century, when it was sold. The second Cheney to hold Houghton Manor was a Sir Thomas Cheney who was Constable of Dover Castle and who, in 1377, helped the Prior of Lewes to repel French invaders who had landed at Rottingdean in Sussex. Thomas, however, was captured by the enemy and was taken as a prisoner to France, where he seems to have died shortly afterwards, without issue.

Sybil de Chesnay, the daughter of Ralf I, married Robert Fitz-Walter, who was Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk in 1129. Their children adopted their mother's name of de Chesnay. One of them, William, was Sheriff of Norfolk from 1157 until 1164 and held twenty Knights' Fees in the Eastern Counties. He had three daughters but no son. One of his daughters and co-heiresses, Sara, married Richard Engaine of the Manor of Colne Engaine in Essex, and they were the ancestors of an Elizabeth Engaine whose daughter, Catherine Pabenham, married in 1395 Sir William Cheney of Fenn Ditton (Cambridge), two centuries after the first marriage between the two families Cheney and Engaine. And thus Sybil's family died out in the male line.

GROUP II. Period — King Henry the First to Edward the First.

This Group brings in the de Saye family, who married twice into the Cheneys.


RALF DE CHENEY II
JOHN (alive in 1148)
ALICE DE SAYE who married Sir Geoffrey de Saye
WILLIAM DE SAYE (ob. 1272)
WILLIAM DE SAYE (ob. 1295)
GEOFFREY DE SAYE (ob. 1322)
AGNES DE SAYE married
?
ALEXANDER DE CHENEY (Crusader in 1190)
JOHN DE CHENEY
ALEXANDER DE CHENEY
SIR ALEXANDER DE CHENEY (ob. 1296)
WILLIAM DE CHENEY

Ralf II married Alice de Marminot and they had several sons, including John de Cheney who made grants to Lewes Priory in 1147. Among those grants was the church at Brighton, of which Ralf II appears to have been the Parson as well as the Patron and in which two capacities he was succeeded by his son John, whose daughter and heiress, Alice, married Geoffrey de Saye who was one of the Magna Carta barons in 1215 and who subsequently fought for Henry the Third in Gascony in the war of 1224-27.

Alice de Cheney took to Geoffrey de Saye, as her marriage portion, the Manors of Street, Hamsey and Saddlecombe in Sussex, with some 2,500 acres of arable and pasture land which was then valued at an average of sixpence an acre per annum. Their great-granddaughter, Agnes de Saye, married (about 1268) a distant kinsman, Sir Alexander de Cheney and, as her dowry, she took Street Manor back to the Cheney family. Their descendants, therefore, had Cheney blood in their veins from both sides.

To revert for a moment to Alexander de Cheney, the early Crusader. Various authorities admit failure to link him up with Ralf I of Domesday, though there is very little doubt that he was related. Alexander fought under Richard Coeur de Lion in 1190 and at the Siege of Acre in 1191. For the transport of his knights and other soldiers to the Holy Land for that Crusade King Richard collected nearly 100 ships from English and French ports. They were packed with men, horses, armour, food and water; some of the larger vessels carrying 80 men and 40 horses, apart from the crew and stores. They set out on their long voyage, singly and in small groups, down the coasts of France and Portugal and through the Straits to Marseilles, where they collected and re-fitted. They then sailed to Messina where, like Ulysses, they avoided the dangers of Scylla and Charybdis, and where they were joined by King Richard who had travelled overland.

On its next stage, the expedition sailed by way of Greece and Crete to Cyprus where Richard, landing at Limasol, captured the island without much difficulty. Cyprus became a useful base for the subsequent operations in the Holy Land against Saladin, the Arab Sultan of Egypt. When one thinks of the primitive means of navigation, the hazards of the sea for the small and over-crowded vessels, the sickness and the poor condition of the horses, and the appalling discomfort generally, one can begin to realise what the transport of an army of six to seven thousand men involved in those days and what a feat of organisation and endurance it was, quite apart from the

subsequent fighting on land. The journey to the Holy Land was not the least difficult part of the Crusades.

To return to the Cheneys of Group II. When Sir Alexander married Agnes de Saye in 1268 he adopted the de Saye family Arms of "Quarterly Or and Gules" which he differenced by a label Argent. That quartered Coat, either Or and Gules or the reverse, had come to the de Sayes from the de Veres through marriage five generations previously when a sister of Aubrey de Vere, Earl of Oxford, had married an early William de Saye. Sir Alexander de Cheney's immediate descendants did not bear those Arms, though later Cheneys did so, notably those of Fenn Ditton (Cambridge) and of Boston (Lincolnshire). Sir Alexander served in Ireland and in the conquest of Wales (1280-82) with his father-in-law, Sir William de Saye, and later under King Edward the First in Gascony.

Sir William de Cheney, the only son of Alexander and Agnes, served in France and also against the Scots under Edward the First. Later, he was one of those who found their loyalty to the new King Edward the Second severely strained owing to the pernicious influence exercised on the King by his favourite, Piers Gaveston, an influence which was continued by Hugh Le Despenser and which ultimately created a breach between the King's party and most of the Barons and which lasted for several years. Finally, in 1322, the discontented Barons and their followers took up arms under Thomas, Earl of of Lancaster, and clashed with the King's forces at the battle of Boroughbridge in the March of that year. The Barons were utterly defeated by the Royal army under de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, and no quarter was given, the carnage being terrible. It was said that never since the battle of Evesham in 1265, when Simon de Montford was killed, had there been such havoc among the English Barons and Knights. Lancaster himself was captured and executed, together with many of his followers, including Sir William de Cheney, who was hanged at York or Pontefract. His name appears in a list of "Knight bachelers treynes et pendus"; his father-in-law, Sir Robert de Shurland being among those captured. One wonders why, in those ruthless, cruel days, when prisoners were so often slaughtered wholesale, anyone ever surrendered. William left a widow, Margaret de Shurland, and three sons, including Robert de Cheney, who can be followed into Group III.

GROUP III. Period — Edward the Second to Henry the Sixth.

SIR ROBERT DE CHENEY (son of William) 1304-62

RICHARD DE CHENEY (b. 1353) — ROGER DE CHENEY (b. 1356)

WILLIAM DE CHENEY of Shurland (ob. 1442) — SIMON DE CHENEY of Cralle (ob. 1455)

SIR JOHN CHENEY (1412-68)

Sir Robert de Cheney succeeded to the family estates on the death of an elder brother William, who was killed at the battle of Halidon Hill against the Scots in 1333, leaving no issue.

It was in 1346 that King Edward the First, accompanied by the Black Prince who was only sixteen years old, embarked at Southampton with a force which was landed in Brittany and then marched through Normandy to Crecy (in Ponthieu) where they found the French army and their allies drawn up in order of battle. The English army, of about 20,000 men, was in three Divisions, the First being under the nominal command of the Prince, and the Third being commanded by the King in person. It was composed of barons, knights, esquires and other men-at-arms, together with many long-bow archers, as well as Irish and Welsh foot armed with spears and long knives, with which they were expert.

There were no less than five Cheneys (or Cheynes) there, from Kent, Sussex, Cambridgeshire, Shropshire and Somerset, including Sir Robert de Cheney of Shurland who was in the King's Division.

The French had taken up a position near the village of Crecy. They were the first to attack, with their Genoese cross-bowmen, but our men stood firm. Then our archers counter-attacked, withering the Genoese with their arrows and putting them to confusion and flight. The French mounted men, furious at the retreat of the Genoese, rode and cut them down. Seeing this, King Edward ordered the Prince to charge with his cavalry and this was done so gallantly and effectively that the French began to give way. Then came the crisis of the battle, for the main French body of mounted men, hitherto in reserve, attacked the Prince's Division from two sides and the position of the Prince's troops seemed critical for a time until the English Second Division, under Lord De Roos, came to the rescue and relieved the pressure by close hand-to-hand fighting. The French began to retire and our archers poured into them a devastating fire

which turned retirement into retreat. That was the moment when our Welsh foot were sent in with their knives and they gave the French no quarter. The enemy fled and the English victory was complete, thanks chiefly to the steadiness of our men and to the accurate shooting of our archers.

After the battle the English army marched to Calais which, however, held out for a whole year before it was captured in August, 1347. Tough as men were in those days, it is easy to imagine their hardships and their suffering in the marshes of Picardy during that long, cold winter before Calais. Most of the horses died; dysentery was rife among the men, and food was scarce. There was no protection from the icy blasts or from the rain; no medical service and no dry clothing. Rusty armour had to be donned again and again. No wonder that discontent and desertion were general. Their experiences must have been almost beyond human endurance, but no record remains of it all.

Calais remained in our hands for more than two hundred years—for seven or eight generations, until 1558, as a base for our wars and a long-lived threat to France.

Sir Robert de Cheney served as a knight of the Shire for Kent from 1348 until 1357 and for Wiltshire in 1358. He was killed in 1362 by his horse falling on him. For his Arms he reverted to the ancient Cheney coat of "Ermine on a bend Sable three martlets Or," though he also bore the arms of the Shurland family of his mother, as did his descendants for several generations.

Robert's son, Richard de Cheney, married Margaret de Cralle, an heiress who brought him on marriage a property in Cralle (Walberton) in Sussex, which remained in the family for 250 years until one of them, Sir Oliver Cheney, who was Sheriff of Cambridgeshire, parted with it early in the 17th century.

Richard left two sons, William and Simon. William was a lawyer and also a soldier. In 1328 he was Recorder of London and (later) a Chief Justice of the King's Bench. He served as a knight of the Shire and as Sheriff of Kent, of which county he was a Commissioner for the raising of a loan for the King in 1419-20. He was knighted in 1424 for his services at the fierce battle of Verneuil against the French and their then Scottish allies. William de Cheney bore the ancient Cheney coat of arms and he died in 1442, leaving a son, John.

This John Cheney, who was knighted in 1445 when a King's Sergeant at Arms, married Eleanor Shottesbroke, a member of a Berkshire family, and this explains why some of their children

migrated from Kent to properties in their mother's county. From 1447 until 1460 Sir John was a Justice for Kent; in 1449 he was knight of the Shire, and in 1454 Sheriff of the county. As a young man he had supported the Jack Cade rebellion, for which, however, he was subsequently pardoned. From 1452 until nearly the end of the reign of Henry the Sixth he was Victualler of Calais, a lucrative post. He fought on the Lancastrian side in the early battles of the Wars of the Roses, for which he was pardoned in 1462 by the Yorkist King Edward the Fourth. Sir John Cheney left several sons who are referred to in Group IV.

Before leaving Group III, reference should be made to Simon de Cheney, the younger son of Richard, and to his descendants. Simon inherited his mother's property at Cralle and also obtained a property at Higham in Milsted on his marriage to Elizabeth Nottingham. His elder son, Robert (ob. 1489), was the founder of the Cheney family of Milsted and Sittingbourne in Kent where four generations lived until Josias Cheney migrated to London at the end of the 16th century and where his sons went to the Merchant Taylors' School and became Drapers and Haberdashers in Bishopsgate. Simon's other son, William, inherited the Walberton property, served as a Justice for Kent from 1461 until 1474 and, in 1484, was a Commissioner of Array for Lancastrian forces just prior to the battle of Bosworth. William Cheney's descendants remained in Walberton for at least five generations, until the property was sold in 1610 by Sir Oliver Cheney.

One member of the Walberton family named John Cheney became involved, in April, 1541, with Thomas Fiennes, Lord Dacre of the South, and with other young men in an affair which, starting as a youthful adventure, finished tragically. The party, having dined together, decided to amuse themselves by poaching on a neighbour's land. In the course of it they had a scuffle with their neighbour's gamekeepers, one of whom was mortally wounded. The whole party of eight were arrested and indicted of murder, although not all of them had been present at the time of the scuffle. The Privy Council (of which John Cheney's kinsman, Sir Thomas Cheney, was a member) were in favour of a charge of manslaughter and only against the one member of the party who had been culpable. King Henry the Eighth, however, intervened personally in the trial to such effect that, finally, the Privy Council bowed to the King's wish and found the whole party guilty of murder, four of them, including Dacre, being executed. The sentence was generally considered to be harsh and unjust, but the King was deaf to all appeals for justice and for mercy.

GROUP IV. Period — Henry the Sixth to Henry the Seventh.

This Group consists of one generation and is composed of the sons of Sir John and Eleanor (Shottesbroke) Cheney, as follows:

WILLIAM —— JOHN —— EDWARD —— ROBERT —— ROGER
(ob. 1486) (1445-99) (ob. 1502) (obsp. 1503)
(For his issue see Group V.)

Of the above five brothers, we will leave John, the most outstanding, until last.

William Cheney, the eldest, married Isabel Boleyn, a sister of Sir Thomas Boleyn and an aunt of Queen Anne Boleyn. He served as Sheriff of Kent and of Surrey and of Sussex in turn and, in 1477, he was appointed by the King to be Governor of the ancient Castle of Queenborough on the Medway. In 1483 he was made a knight of the Bath.

Edward Cheney, the third son, took Holy Orders and was Rector of Witney (Wilts), Canon of Chichester and, from 1486, Dean of Salisbury.

Robert Cheney (of Berkshire) was knighted and died without issue.

Roger Cheney and his descendants for several generations lived at West Woodhay in Berkshire. His son, John, was an Esquire to King Edward the Fourth in 1471, and fought on the Yorkist side in the last battles of the Wars of the Roses. Of this John's four sons, one settled at Uphavon in Wiltshire and may have been the ancestor of many Cheneys of Oare, Wilcot and Tidcombe in that county, one of whom was Dr. Thomas Cheyney (as his name was spelt) who was a Fellow of Winchester College, Canon of Wells and (from 1700 until 1724) Informator of Winchester College, where he was succeeded by his son, also Thomas Cheyney, who was Master there for many years and was Dean of the Cathedral.

We now come to John Cheney, the second of the brothers and one of the outstanding soldiers of this soldierly race. From 1471 until 1483 he was an Esquire to Edward the Fourth, on whose side he fought in the Yorkist victories of Barnet and Tewkesbury, the last two battles of the Wars of the Roses. In 1475 he was serving in the Army which had been concentrated at Calais to operate in France, but which was bought off, at the last moment, by the payment by King Louis of France of a large cash indemnity. John Cheney was one of two officers delegated to remain in France as temporary hostages during the evacuation of the English army, and for his services he was granted a reward of fifty pounds. From 1476 until

the death of Edward the Fourth in March 1482-83, he was knight of the Shire for Wiltshire, where he had a property at Falstone Cheyne, and was Master of the Horse to the King.

When, in June 1483, Richard of Gloucester seized the Throne as Richard the Third, there was a widespread feeling of resentment against him and in favour of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who was then in Brittany for reasons of personal safety. This feeling was not confined to Lancastrians, for many Yorkists were shocked by the sudden deaths, in mysterious circumstances, of the young King Edward the Fifth and his brother Richard, Duke of York; a tragedy which ridded Gloucester of his Yorkist rivals, whether he was directly responsible for it or not.

Henry Tudor was a descendant of Edward the Third through John of Gaunt and the Beauforts, and John Cheney was a kinsman of his. Their relationship originated two generations earlier from an ancestress in common, Edith Stourton, who married twice; firstly Sir John Beauchamp and secondly Sir Robert Shottesbroke. By each husband she had a daughter, Margaret Beauchamp and Eleanor Shottesbroke, who were consequently half-sisters. Margaret Beauchamp married John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset (a grandson of John of Gaunt and of Katherine Swinford) and their daughter, Margaret Beaufort, married (in 1455) Edmund Tudor, first Earl of Richmond, by whom she had a son, Henry Tudor, afterwards Henry the Seventh. The other half-sister, Eleanor Shottesbroke, married Sir John Cheney of Shurland and by him had several sons, the second (born 1445) being the Sir John Cheney of Falstone (Wilts) of Group IV.

When, in September 1483, Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, took up arms in the Western Counties against King Richard the Third and in favour of Henry Tudor, John Cheney and his brother Robert joined him. (Buckingham's wife Catherine Woodville was a sister of Elizabeth, the Queen of Edward the Fourth, and so he was related to the murdered Princes and to their sister Elizabeth who, later, was married to Henry the Seventh.) Owing, however, to the rivers Wye and Severn being in high flood, the Welsh troops upon whom Buckingham was depending were unable to cross the rivers to join him, and the revolt became a fiasco. Buckingham himself was betrayed to the King's forces by his servant for a reward of £1,000 and was promptly executed. John Cheney and his brother were able to escape to Brittany to join Henry Richmond, they being attainted and their properties being confiscated in absentia.

About a year later Henry Tudor, already assured of support in England, landed at Milford Haven where he rallied his supporters and

organised his forces. Among those who accompanied him from Brittany were the brothers John and Robert Cheney who were both dubbed Knights Bachelor at the landing. Tudor's army then marched to Bosworth where they met and defeated that of King Richard. In that battle Richard fought bravely and desperately. Having personally overthrown Richmond's standard-bearer, he then fought and unhorsed John Cheney, a man of unusual height and strength, before being killed in the mélée. The story is that King Richard struck off Cheney's helmet, wounding and stunning him, but that Cheney, recovering his senses after a while, cut the skull and horns off an ox which chanced to be nearby and placed the gruesome thing on his own head to supply the loss of the upper part of his helm. He then returned to the fray and fought gallantly. To commemorate the incident, Henry Tudor assigned to Sir John Cheney, as a crest, "Two bulls' horns Argent separated from the scalp, roots Or, fixed to the mantel without torse", a crest which he and his descendants bore.

The victory of Bosworth resulted in a great change in John Cheney's fortunes. He was made a Knight of the Body, Constable of Christchurch and of Southampton, and Keeper of the New Forest. His properties were restored to him and he became again knight of the Shire for Wilts. In 1486 he was made a Knight of the Garter and a Privy Councillor and, a year later, after fighting in the battle of Stoke against Lambert Simnel, Cheney was made a Knight Banneret, the supreme honour of knighthood for services in the field. In 1487 he was created a Baron of Parliament as Lord Cheney. In 1489, and again in 1492, he commanded a force in France and was looked upon as an outstanding and energetic captain. In 1497 he was in arms against Perkin Warbeck who pretended to be the young Duke of York who, in fact, had been put to death fourteen years previously.

Sir John Cheney had married Margaret, the widow of William, Lord Stourton, but they had no children, his heir being his nephew, Sir Thomas Cheney, K.G. He was buried in Salisbury Cathedral, of which his brother Edward was Dean. When many years later Sir John's tomb was opened for some reason, his skeleton was found to be intact and to fully justify the stories of his unusual height and size, his thigh-bone being at least four inches longer than that of a very tall man.

GROUP V. Period — Henry the Seventh to Queen Elizabeth.

This Group, the last of the Shurland line, is composed of William

Cheney, the eldest son of Sir John and Eleanor (Shottesbroke) Cheney, and his descendants.

SIR WILLIAM and ISABEL (BOLEYN) CHENEY

FRANCIS CHENEY (b. 1481, obsp.)

SIR THOMAS CHENEY, K.G. (1485-1558)

JOHN CHENEY (ob. 1554)

HENRY CHENEY (obsp. 1587)

Francis Cheney married in 1496 when fifteen years old and succeeded his father William as Governor of Queenborough Castle. He died early without issue.

His brother, Thomas Cheney, was a remarkable man of unusual intelligence who adapted himself successfully to the favour of four Sovereigns: Henry the Eighth (during whose long reign most of Cheney's career was spent), Edward the Sixth, Queen Mary and, for a few years, Queen Elizabeth. Of course, he had the advantage of a good start in life as the nephew and heir of Sir John Cheney of Bosworth fame, and his early honours undoubtedly came to him for that reason. Soon after the accession of Henry the Eighth, Cheney became one of the King's henchmen and was knighted and made Governor of Queenborough Castle in succession to his brother Francis.

In 1512 King Henry and Wolsey were contemplating war against France in co-operation with the Holy League composed of the Pope, the Emperor Maximilian and the King of Spain. Preparations for war were being made by land and sea. Thomas Cheney's rôle was to command a ship-of-war, as it was customary for soldiers to do, with a seaman as navigator. Our army landed at Calais and captured Tournai, but then peace was made with France and, as a part of the pact, King Henry's sister Mary married Louis the Twelfth of France.

Thomas Cheney's short military career was over and his life as a diplomat, in which he excelled, began. In November 1513 he was sent on his first mission, a temporary one, to the Court of Pope Leo X. In 1515, when thirty years old, he was nominated Sheriff of Kent and was made an Esquire to the King. Four years later he was on Mission again, but this time to the Duke of Ferrara. This was just after the death of the Emperor Maximilian and the nomination of Charles of Spain as his successor as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. The whole of Europe was in a diplomatic turmoil, with

new alliances being planned against France, and also against the Turks who were threatening the eastern flank of Europe. A consequence of the new alignment among States, who all distrusted each other, was the famous meeting between Henry the Eighth and Francis the First of France at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520; the very acme of duplicity and of insincerity on either side, with (as a background) the young Emperor Charles bribing Wolsey to obtain for him financial help from King Henry, a request to which Wolsey had no intention of acceding while not refusing the bribe.

Thomas Cheney was in the King's retinue at the meeting and was one of the English challengers at the Tournaments which were organised against the French.

On his return to England he was made Treasurer of the Royal Household, a post which ensured close personal contact with the Sovereign, from whom various favours and perquisites followed in consequence. That appointment he retained in subsequent reigns.

Early in 1521 Cheney was sent as temporary Ambassador to the French Court, for he spoke French fluently, but war against France broke out in the following year and he had to return home. In 1526, after peace with France, he was again Ambassador there for a short time, being accompanied by a young attaché, Thomas Wyatt, the son of Sir Henry Wyatt of Kent.

In addition to Queenborough Castle, Thomas Cheney was made Constable of Rochester and Dover Castles, Bailiff of Sandwich and of Dover, and Lord Warden of the Cinq Ports, an important post which had been held by his ancestor Sir Robert de Shurland in the 13th century. In 1532 Cheney entertained King Henry and Anne Boleyn at Shurland, just before they were married. (It was five years previously that Sir Henry Wyatt had entertained King Henry and Cardinal Wolsey at Alington Castle, not far from Shurland.)

Cheney was a great favourite of the King, who made him a Knight of the Garter in 1539. He bore the same arms as his uncle, Sir John Cheney, K.G., "Azure six lioncels rampant Argent, a canton Ermine", which was the Shurland coat, quartered with the Shottesbroke "Ermine a chief Or and Gules per pale indented, on the dexter chief a rose of the last". The Shurland six silver lions rampant on blue were feudal arms based upon those of William Longspée, Earl of Salisbury, a son of Henry the Second and of Fair Rosamond, though Longspée bore golden lions on a blue shield.

Thomas Cheney had two setbacks in the course of his career, but each of them was only of a temporary nature. The first was in 1528 when he had a quarrel with Sir John Russell, afterwards Earl of Bedford, whose career as a diplomat had been very much like

his own. This quarrel incurred the displeasure of Wolsey—a dangerous thing in those days—but thanks to the intervention of his kinswoman, Anne Boleyn, Cheney was restored to the Cardinal's favour. The second incident was years later, in 1554, when, as Governor of the Hundreds of Kent, he was suspected of deliberate slowness in opposing the revolt in Kent headed by his friend and neighbour Sir Thomas Wyatt the Younger, but here again Cheney emerged scatheless.

Thomas Cheney had inherited from his father and from his uncle, Sir John, several properties, including Shurland, Eastchurch Manor, Nutts Manor, Cheyne Court (Ivychurch) and Bifron Manor, all in Kent, and through his second wife he came into a property at Toddington in Bedfordshire. King Henry the Eighth, in his Will of 1546, left him a legacy of £200, a handsome sum in those days. As a consequence of the Dissolution of the Monasteries and of the attainder of Sir Thomas Wyatt and the latter's adherents in 1554, Cheney obtained several more estates in Kent, including Davington Priory which had belonged to Wyatt. He was a very wealthy man and he entertained magnificently at Shurland where he had a retinue of four hundred persons of all degrees to serve him in various capacities.

He married twice. His first wife was Friedwith Frowicke by whom he had one son, John, who was slain early in life in a skirmish at Montreuil in France and who left two daughters but no son. By his second wife, Anne Broughton, Thomas Cheney had a son, Henry, who was a great disappointment to his father and who was by no means worthy of his forebears.

In the Church at Davington (Kent) there is a memorial to Sir Thomas Cheney with his arms surrounded by the Garter and with his motto "Le meus que je puis".

Henry Cheney became, on the early death of his half-brother John, the heir of his father, Thomas. Such public posts as he held were solely due to the wealth and social position which he had inherited. He was knight of the Shire and a Justice for Kent in 1562 and for Bedfordshire in 1572. In 1574 he was Sheriff of Kent, having been knighted by Queen Elizabeth in the previous year. In 1578 he was created Lord Cheney of Toddington, and in 1587 he was one of the judges at the trial of Mary, Queen of Scots. He married Joan, a daughter of Lord Wentworth, but they had no children.

The skirmish at Montreuil was disastrous not only for the John Cheney who lost his life there, but it was disastrous for the Cheney family that such a man as Henry should succeed to the vast estates

and to the good name of his forbears. He was an extravagant and dissolute man, a spendthrift who dissipated the whole of his inherited wealth and who died almost a pauper. Disliking Shurland which, for 300 years had been the ancestral home, he built a magnificent mansion at Toddington where he entertained Queen Elizabeth lavishly and ostentatiously in 1563 and again ten years later. He was known as "the extravagant Lord Cheney", a very moderate appellation. Among the various properties which he sold to get cash for his personal expenditure were, apart from Shurland itself, Patricksburn Manor (which had been in the family for 300 years like Shurland), Davington Priory and several other Manors, including Colne Engaine (Essex) which had come to the Cheneys at the end of the 14th century. Evidently Sir Thomas had been well aware of the weakness of his son's character, for in his Will of 1558 he took the precaution of leaving the remainder of some of his smaller properties to his cousin, Thomas Cheney of West Woodhay (Berks).

Henry Cheney died without issue in 1587. It was typical of him that, instead of being content, as his immediate forbears had been, to bear the Shurland and Shottesbroke arms or the simple ancient coat of "Ermine on a bend Sable three martlets Or", he had a shield of 21 quarterings which included the arms of most of the distinguished families with which Cheneys had been connected by marriage or by vassalage from the earliest times. And so ended the Cheneys of Shurland, except for descendants of the branches of West Woodhay (Berkshire) and of Higham and of Walberton in Kent.

Chapter 4

THE CHENEYS OF FENN DITTON, etc.

IN THE 14th century there was a branch of the Cheneys of Shurland located at Fenn Ditton (Cambridgeshire) and at Thenford and at Irtlingborough (Northants) and, later, in Boston, Lincolnshire. They bore the de Saye arms "Quarterly Or and Gules", but differenced by a bend lozenge and by varying tinctures. The first known of them was a Henry Cheney whose son, Sir William, married Catherine, daughter and heiress of Sir Laurence Pabenham and of his wife Elizabeth Engaine, thus linking three ancient families. This marriage was not the first between a Cheney and an Engaine for, three hundred years previously, a daughter of William de Cheyne (Sheriff of Norfolk, 1157-64) married Richard d'Engaine, an ancestor of the above Catherine Pabenham.

Sir William Cheney of Fenn Ditton died in 1403 leaving a son and heir, Laurence Cheney, then only six years old, whose manhood was spent during the long reign of the weak King Henry the Sixth who became insane towards the end of his life. During the last ten years of that reign the country was ruled by the strong-minded Queen Margaret of Anjou as head of the Lancastrian Party, with Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, as her chief adviser. Laurence Cheney became Escheator of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire in 1423, Sheriff of Cambridgeshire in 1430 and 1435, knight of the Shire for that county from 1431 until 1442, and a Justice from 1437 until his death in 1467. In 1440 he was deprived of his various offices for some reason, but he was subsequently pardoned. In 1459 he was a Commissioner of Array for the Lancastrian forces which were organised during the Wars of the Roses. This was four years after the first battle of St. Albans, a Yorkist victory, when Somerset was slain, and on the eve of the Lancastrian victories at Bloreheath and Ludlow in the earlier stages of that dreadful Civil War which lasted for sixteen years until 1471 when, at Tewkesbury, the Lancastrian cause collapsed.

Laurence Cheney married Elizabeth Cockayne and left two sons, John and William, and three daughters, Elizabeth, Mary and Anne.

His elder son, John Cheney (1423-90), was a lawyer. In 1445 he was a King's Sergeant and Escheator for Cambridgeshire and

Huntingdonshire. Four years later he was knight of the Shire for his county and a Justice. This John Cheney was one of the Lancastrians who, on the accession of Edward the Fourth, made his peace with the House of York and was pardoned. He was knighted in 1472. When Richard the Third came to the throne in 1483, Cheney was removed from the Bench but without the confiscation of his properties. Shortly afterwards, in 1484, he was again pardoned, though he was not restored to his public offices. He married Elizabeth Rempson who gave him two sons and brought him two Manors. Their sons were Thomas and William.

The elder son, Thomas Cheney (1449-1513), "of Thenford", was made a Knight of the Bath in 1489 and married twice. His first wife was Elizabeth Huddleston, an heiress who brought him a property in Irtlingborough, Northants. His second wife was Anne Parr, a daughter of Sir William Parr and an aunt of Catherine Parr, the last Queen of Henry the Eighth. After the death of Sir William Parr, his widow married Nicholas, first Lord Vaux of Harrowden, a distinguished military commander who had fought at the battles of Stoke in 1487 and Bloreheath in 1497.

When Sir Thomas Cheney died in 1513 he left an only child and heiress, Elizabeth Cheney, then eight years old. Two years later, Nicholas, Lord Vaux, purchased for £400 the wardship of Elizabeth Cheney and, in 1525, he married her to his son Thomas, afterwards second Lord Vaux, an ancestor of the present Baroness Vaux of Harrowden.

But to return to Laurence's other children, to his second son William, and then to his daughters. This William Cheney, who died in 1547, had a son who was also named William and who married Frances, an illegitimate daughter of Sir Thomas Cheney, K.G., of Shurland. These two, William and Frances, founded a branch of Cheneys who lived in Boston (Lincs.) for several centuries, and where they became mercers, apothecaries and saddlers. One writer has stated that this family was omitted from the Lincolnshire Visitation of 1634; that they fell into decay and that it was a curious instance of a knightly race descending into obscurity. This remark is somewhat reminiscent of "Tess of the d'Urbervilles". It is true enough that, during the 17th century, the Cheneys of Boston were no longer the landowners which their forbears had been and that, as a consequence, they lived in less exalted social circles. But surely "decay" is hardly an appropriate word, for evidently they were worthy citizens. Between 1725 and the end of that century no less than four Cheneys, Johns and Thomases, were Mayors of Boston with eight years of civic service, indicating good character and behaviour. It is an in-

teresting fact that these mercers, apothecaries and saddlers were distant kinsmen of the contemporary Dukes of Norfolk. In 1446 Laurence Cheney's daughter Elizabeth married Sir Frederick Tilney, and their daughter (Elizabeth Tilney) married, in 1472, Thomas Howard, the second Duke of Norfolk, who commanded the English army at Flodden in 1513 and whose sister, Elizabeth Howard, married Sir Thomas Boleyn, the father of Queen Anne Boleyn and the grandfather of Queen Elizabeth. Consequently, Laurence Cheney was an ancestor, not only of the present Duke of Norfolk, but also of two Queens of England.

Cheneys lived at Irtlingborough in Northants for at least 250 years, for in 1736 a James Thomas Cheney of Irtlingborough was apprenticed to a cordwainer by paying a premium of £25, and he may have left descendants.

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Chapter 5

CHENEYS OF THE MIDLANDS

THERE were several generations of Cheneys who lived in Derbyshire and then in Staffordshire and, later, in Leicestershire during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. They claimed descent from the Cheneys of Kent and bore the arms of Sir Robert de Shurland "Azure six lions rampant Argent, a canton Ermine", with the Cheney crest "A bull's scalp Argent", their motto being "Fato prudentia major".

The first known of them was Thomas Cheney who was born about the time of the Restoration and was buried at Monyash (Derbyshire) in 1723, during the reign of George the First.

His son, Edward, served in the Blues and was severely wounded at the battle of Dettingen in 1743 in the War of the Austrian Succession.

Edward's son, Robert Cheney (1737-1809), married twice and served as Sheriff of Derbyshire in 1765. He had three sons, Robert, Edward and William, all of whom served in the Army, and two daughters.

Robert Cheney's eldest son, Robert (1765-1819), joined the First (Grenadier) Guards in 1783, fought in the Peninsular War, including the famous retreat of Sir John Moore to the coast, and was awarded the Corunna Medal. Subsequently he commanded his Regiment and was Aide-de-Camp to King George the Third. He was promoted Major-General in 1810 and retired as a Lieutenant-General. He had married in 1799 and left three sons and two daughters, to whom reference is made later.

Robert's second son, Edward Cheney (1777-1847), of Gaddesby in Leicestershire, served with the Second Dragoons (the Scots Greys) in Flanders and Holland in 1794 and 1795, and was severely wounded in the action against the French at Nimeguen. In 1815, on the morning of the battle of Waterloo, he was Major and Second in Command of his Regiment but, as his Colonel became a casualty in the opening phase of the battle, the command devolved upon Edward Cheney for the rest of the day, during which, in repeated charges, he had no less than five horses killed or disabled under him, though he himself survived. For his services at Waterloo he was promoted Lieut.-Colonel by the Duke of Wellington and was awarded the Companion-

ship of the Order of the Bath, as well as the coveted Waterloo Medal. When he died in 1847 he left one son and a daughter.

Robert's third son, William Cheney (1780-1822), served in the Grenadier Guards and retired as a Captain. There is a memorial to him in the Church at Somerby by Grantham in Lincolnshire.

We now come to the fifth generation. General Robert Cheney's three sons were Robert-Henry, Edward and Ralph, and his daughters were Frederica and Harriet. None of the sons married and, later in their lives, they all lived together at Badger Hall in Shropshire. Edward had served in the Green Howards and retired as a Major in 1842. His brother, Ralph, retired from the Highland Light Infantry as a Captain in 1840. Their sister, Frederica, married George Capel-Cure of Blake Hall, Ongar, Essex, and their descendant of three generations later, Mr. Nigel Capel-Cure, represents that branch of the Cheney family to-day.

To return to Colonel Edward Cheney of the Scots Greys. He had a son, Edward Henshaw Cheney, who was High Sheriff of Derbyshire in 1860, a century later than his ancestor Robert. He was also a Deputy Lieutenant and a Justice for the county. He had married, but apparently he had no surviving issue, although, in his Will, he referred to "all my children". Edward Henshaw Cheney was the last of his name to be a Sheriff, the earliest one having been William de Chesnay, Sheriff of Norfolk in 1146, in the reign of King Stephen, nearly seven hundred years previously. Such is, shortly, the story of a gallant family.

Chapter 6

THE CHEYNES OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE AND BUCKINGHAMSHIRE (Family "B")

THE PEDIGREE of this branch can be established with reasonable accuracy for some six hundred and fifty years from Domesday, and it may be assumed that it could be brought down to the present day, if that has not been done already. In many of the older records the name of this Family "B" was spelt de Chenduit for the early generations and Cheyne for subsequent ones.

At first they were established at Middleton and elsewhere in Northants; then, from the time of King John, they were in Langley (Herts) and it was not until the reign of Edward the Third that they settled in, and became linked with, Buckinghamshire.

As in the case of Family "A", the generations will be divided into small Groups.

Group I. Period — William I to the end of King John.

RALF DE CHENDUIT (CHEYNE) of Domesday
|
RALF II. (ob. 1127)
|
SIMON (ob. 1140)
|
RALF III. (ob. 1182)
|
WILLIAM (alive in 1209)
|

RALF IV. (ob. 1229) | SIMON II. | WILLIAM II.

The first Ralf held lands in Middleton and in Charwalton and elsewhere in Northants and in Cheddington (Bucks), and it is not certain whether it was he or his father of the same Christian name who fought at Hastings. He was a tenant of Robert de Mortain, a half-brother of the Conqueror, who later was created Earl of Cornwall.

Just after the death of Ralf II, his widow, Adeliza, and their son Simon presented the advowson of Charwalton Church to Nostell Priory in Yorkshire. Simon held two hides of land (200 acres), a quarter of a Knight's Fee, of the Fief of Berkhamsted (Herts) and

married the daughter and heiress of Ralf de Pinckney who bore as his arms "Or five fusils in fesse Gules", a coat which closely resembled that borne by the Cheynes of the Western Counties a century later, and which those Cheynes may possibly have adopted.

Simon's son, Ralf III, held one Fee of William d'Albini (Daubeney), Earl of Arundel and Sussex, and he got heavily into debt to Aaron, the wealthy Jewish moneylender of Norwich. The Jews had followed the Normans into England and had been allowed to lend money at interest, although that was forbidden by the Church to others. The Jews were especially protected by Henry the Second who, nevertheless, made them pay for it. They lent money to the barons and other Norman warriors, chiefly for the purchase of arms and armour. As the borrowers were not able, ordinarily, to give security for the loans (their lands being held by the obligation of personal military service) the King set up a special Tribunal to help the Jews to recover their money, but they were expelled under Edward the First, being replaced by Flemings and Lombards until they were again allowed in England under the Stuarts. It may have been the payment of the first Scutage levy imposed in 1159 by Henry the Second which forced Ralf III to borrow cash, a commodity of which men in his position had no great need in the ordinary way, for their serfs worked their land for them and were paid in kind by crops and by a plot of land for themselves.

Ralf III's son William lived in the days of Richard the First and of Robin Hood and he also was in debt to the Jews. Of William's sons, Ralf IV "of Langley, Herts.", joined the barons in their revolt against King John (Magna Carta) in 1215, for which his lands were forfeited, although he was pardoned and his lands restored two years later on the accession of Henry the Third. William II went on a Crusade to the Holy Land with his kinsman, Philip d'Albini and, later, served the King in France in the expedition which resulted in the loss of Poitou for us. It seems likely that it was this William II who founded the fortunes of the Cheynes of the Western Counties (Chapter 10).

GROUP II. Period — From Henry the Third through the reigns of the three Edwards.

RALF V. DE CHENDUIT (son of Ralf IV.). Living in 1244

SIR JOHN (ob. 1285)	SIR STEPHEN (ob. 1290)
RALF VI. (ob. 1326)	SIR STEPHEN II.

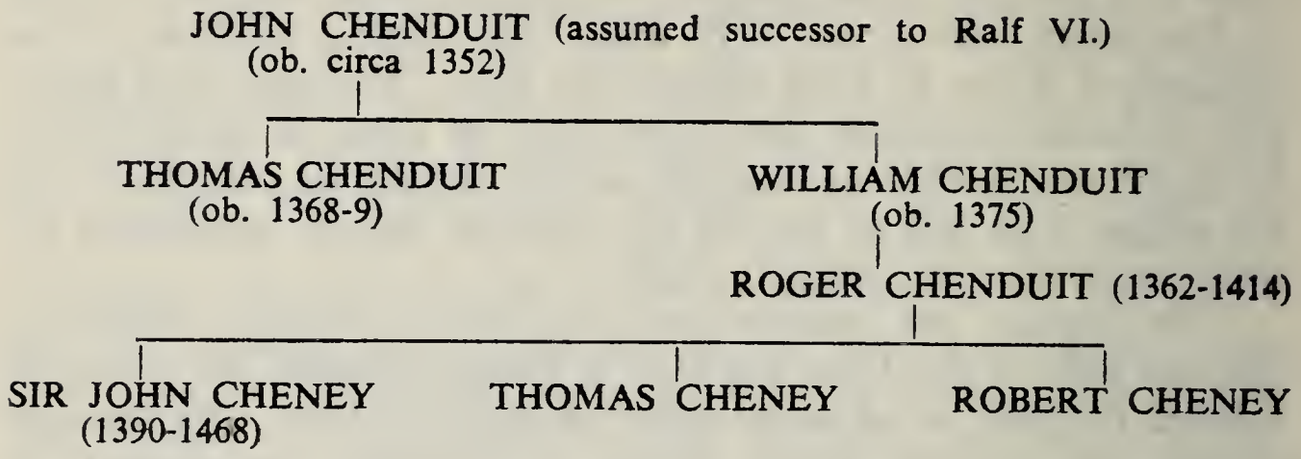
Ralf V (like his father) was "of Langley, Herts", but he also held lands in Whiteparish, in Wiltshire, in 1244. He married Matilda, a daughter of William Paynell of Somerset, and by her had two sons, John and Stephen, both Knights. John, the elder son, was Sheriff of Buckinghamshire from 1278 until 1282, during the time of the conquest of Wales by King Edward the First. He held one Knight's Fee in Buckinghamshire and some land in Dene in Bedfordshire. Evidently his Sheriffdom cost him money, despite its perquisites, for his widow Joan had to pay off his debts by annual instalments for some years after his death in 1285.

Sir Stephen, the younger son, was also in financial difficulties, and not only to the Jews, but also to Queen Eleanor, the widow of Edward the First, to whom he owed 100 marks in 1273. For financial reasons, he alienated to the Bishop of Rochester the property of Middleton which had been in his family for two hundred years, and he sub-let, for a time, his Buckinghamshire property at an annual rent of £20. He served as a knight in the service of the Bishop of St. Albans.

In the next generation was Ralf VI, who had an active military career. He served the King for some years in the conquest of Wales, fought at the battle of Dunbar in 1296 when we beat the Scots under John Balliol; he was at the battle of Stirling Bridge in 1297 when Wallace beat us; he fought at Falkirk the following year when King Edward defeated Wallace, and he was also at Carlaverock in 1300. He had enjoyed the personal favour of Edward the First who, in 1290, granted him a special licence to sport during Lent along the river Kennet in Berkshire with a goshawk which the King handed him to keep and to feed during the season. In 1318 Ralf VI was removed from his office of Coroner for Buckinghamshire on the score of age and infirmity. He bore as his personal arms "De Azure un chêne d'Or e un label de Goules", the chêne (Cheyne) being evidently a charge based upon his name.

At this stage, that is from Ralf VI and his cousin Stephen II, there is uncertainty as to the exact lineage for the next generation or two. This is partly due to the fact that there were two contemporary and related families living near each other, one at Drayton Beauchamp and the other at Isenhamsted and bearing indistinguishable Christian names. It is true that the Drayton Beauchamp family bore the Chequy coat of the de Warennes, whereas that of Isenhamsted bore the ancient Cheney coat of "Argent a fesse and in chief 3 martlets Gules", but that alone does not solve the problem. In the circumstances, it has been assumed for the purpose of this sketch (which, as already stated, does not claim genealogical exactitude) that Ralf VI was followed by John II, who heads the next Group.

Group III. Period — From Edward the Second to the end of Henry the Sixth.



John Chenduit, at the head of this Group, was Sheriff of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire from 1334 until 1338.

Thomas Chenduit, who was originally described as "of Langley, Herts", was a gallant soldier who was Esquire and Shield-bearer to Edward the Third on whom he was in personal attendance during the later years of the Hundred Years' War, and from whom he received many grants by way of reward. In 1352, when he was King's Yeoman, Thomas was appointed Bailiff of Pirehill in Staffordshire and of Windsor Park, both for good services. In 1360 he was granted the Manor of Great Torrington in Devon, and was appointed Escheator for that county. In 1364 King Edward granted him the Manor of Drayton Beauchamp in Buckinghamshire with 350 acres of land, a property which remained in the family for at least two hundred years. A year later, in January 1365, he was appointed Constable of Windsor Castle and Keeper of the King's Jewels. He also held Grive Manor in Buckinghamshire and Rolleston Manor in Leicestershire, and so, with his various properties and a cash annuity granted by the King, Thomas Chenduit was a wealthy man. He was buried in the Church at Drayton Beauchamp, apparently unmarried, his heir being his brother.

William Chenduit succeeded to Drayton Beauchamp and to his brother's other properties. In 1340, Edmund de Mortain, Earl of Cornwall, had given William the Manor of Bereford St. Martin in Wiltshire. This property was held in about 1380 by Sir Hugh Cheyne of Shropshire who was Sheriff of Wiltshire from 1376 until 1388, and whose branch was obviously akin to that of Buckinghamshire. William, like Thomas Chenduit, was buried at Drayton Beauchamp, leaving a widow, Joan, and a son, Roger.

Roger Cheney, who married Judith Apulderfield of Kent, was an Esquire to King Richard the Second and to Henry the Fourth. He had inherited from an uncle a property in Woodstock, Oxfordshire, which county he represented in Parliament in 1382 and 1384. In 1404 he was both Knight of the Shire and Sheriff of Buckinghamshire. He was buried at Cassendon (Oxon.) in 1414, leaving three sons, John, Thomas and Robert.

As Roger's third son Robert only needs a short reference, we will take him first. Robert had a son John who married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Edward de Lovetot, and their son, William Cheyne (of Chesham Bois) had an only child and heiress, Jane Cheyne, who married (about 1525) Thomas Wriothesley, first Earl of Southampton who, in 1544, became Lord Chancellor and who was a friend of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder.

Roger's eldest son, Sir John Cheyne, married three times: (1) Joan Fitzmarmaduke, (2) Agnes de Cogenhoe, and (3) Isabel Frome of Dorset. His second wife brought him a property in Cogenhoe (Northants) and his third brought him Fortington Manor in Dorset. He was an Esquire of the Body to Henry the Fifth under whom he served at the Siege of Harfleur in September 1415, where he fell sick and had to return home three weeks before the battle of Agincourt. He became Knight of the Shire and Sheriff of Buckinghamshire and, in 1420, he and Richard Wyot were commissioned to raise a Loan in that county towards the cost of the campaign in France. He was a child at the time of Wat Tyler's rebellion, a man of fifty when Jack Cade also captured London for a time, and an old man during the Wars of the Roses.

Roger's second son, Thomas, married Eleanor Chesham through whom he acquired the Manor of Chesham Bois in Buckinghamshire, as well as a property at Amersham, a constituency which one of his descendants represented in Parliament two and a half centuries later. This Thomas Cheyne and his elder brother John were arrested as Lollards in 1414 and were imprisoned for a time in the Tower, being subsequently released. Their religious doctrines, however, do not appear to have softened their hearts or to have brought them goodwill towards men, for in 1430 the brothers found themselves again in the Tower, but this time for a very different reason. It was because their tenants in Buckinghamshire had complained to the Privy Council that John and Thomas Cheyne had imprisoned and tortured them and members of their families and had appropriated their goods and chattels without cause. The brothers were tried and were punished, though not severely. The mere fact that they were punished at all indicated that the nobles and gentry had not quite

the autocratic power which they had previously.

Thomas and Eleanor Cheyne appear to have had two sons, John and Thomas, who head the next Group.

Group IV. Period — Edward the Fourth, Edward the Fifth and Richard the Third.

This Group commences with the two sons of Thomas and Eleanor (Chesham) Cheyne, John and Thomas.

JOHN CHEYNE (ob. 1459) ——— THOMAS CHEYNE (alive in 1479)

JOHN CHEYNE (ob. 1466)
m. Elizabeth Brudenell

JOHN CHEYNE (1466-1534 ?)
m. Margaret Ingleton

ROBERT CHEYNE (1487-1552) (see Group V.)

JOHN CHEYNE (ob. 1535) m. E. Blount (issue)

7 daughters

The first John, of those above, married Perin Witney, a relative of Sir John Oldcastle the Lollard, whose doctrines had so much influenced the early Cheynes. This John Cheyne was Sheriff of Buckinghamshire from 1423 until 1434 and was Knight of the Shire from 1429 until 1432. In 1424 he had become Escheator for the county. His brother Thomas acquired Shardiloes Manor from Edmund Brudenell, a member of a well-known Buckinghamshire family with which the Wyots of that county had been distantly connected by marriages.

The second John, who married Elizabeth Brudenell, was also Knight of the Shire for Buckingham between 1425 and 1445.

The third John, who was born a few months after the death of his father, was "of Drayton Beauchamp", but he also held Chesham Bois and Cogenhoe. He was Sheriff in 1505 and in 1520. His son Robert succeeded to the three estates and married twice.

The following incomplete list of Patrons of the Church at Isenhamsted shows some of the Cheynes who held the Manor during 250 years:

1232 Alexander de Cheyne presented. (temp. Henry III).
1264 Sir John Cheyne.

1267 Sir Stephen Cheyne.
1296 Bartholomew Cheyne (Edward I).
1325 Alexander Cheyne (Edward II).
1359 Sir John Cheyne (Edward III).
1401 John Cheyne, "a young gentleman". (Henry IV).
1415 John Cheyne (Henry V).
1461 Sir John Cheyne (Edward VI).

In 1479 the patronage was in the hands of Agnes Molyneux, the relict of Sir John Cheyne (Edward IV).

As to the Church at Drayton Beauchamp, the first Cheyne Patron was in 1381, when Joan, the late wife of William Cheyne, the brother of Thomas Cheyne, the Shield-bearer to Edward the Third. The last one was William Cheyne, Viscount Newhaven, who presented in 1689 and in 1708;a remarkable record of four and a quarter centuries.

GROUP V. Period — From Henry the Seventh through the Stuart Kings to George the First.

It starts with Robert Cheyne, from Group IV.

ROBERT CHEYNE (1488-1552) ——— 7 SISTERS

JOHN CHEYNE (ob. 1585) — THOMAS CHEYNE (ob. 1553)

JOHN CHEYNE (ob. 1597) — (see Group VI.)

FRANCIS CHEYNE (1574-1644)

CHARLES CHEYNE (1625-98)

WILLIAM CHEYNE (1657-1736)

Robert Cheyne succeeded to his father's three estates, Drayton Beauchamp, Chesham Bois and Cogenhoe and he married twice. His first wife Elizabeth Webbe died in 1516. In 1520 he married Mary Sillam who brought him the Manor of Bramblehanger in Bedfordshire, which remained in his family for the next 150 years.

John Cheyne (Robert's elder son) married firstly, Winifred, a daughter of John, Lord Mordaunt of Turvey (Beds) and, after her death in 1562, he married Joyce, daughter of Sir Anthony Lee and of his wife Margaret Wyatt, a sister of Sir Henry Wyatt of Kent, thus establishing a direct link between the families of Cheyne and Wyatt. John Cheyne was buried at Chesham Bois in 1585, leaving four sons, of whom however only one, also named John, had issue. Of the other three, one, Sir Francis Cheyne, was Member of Parliament for

Cardigan in 1554 and Sheriff of Buckinghamshire in 1588 and in 1602. Francis and another brother named Thomas both died in 1619.

It was John Cheyne, the son of John, the son of Robert, who carried on the Buckinghamshire line, although at one time he had been disinherited by his father. He married Margaret Skipwith, lived at Amersham, was Sheriff of Buckinghamshire in 1565, and was buried at King's Langley (Herts), leaving two sons, of whom only one (Francis) married and had issue.

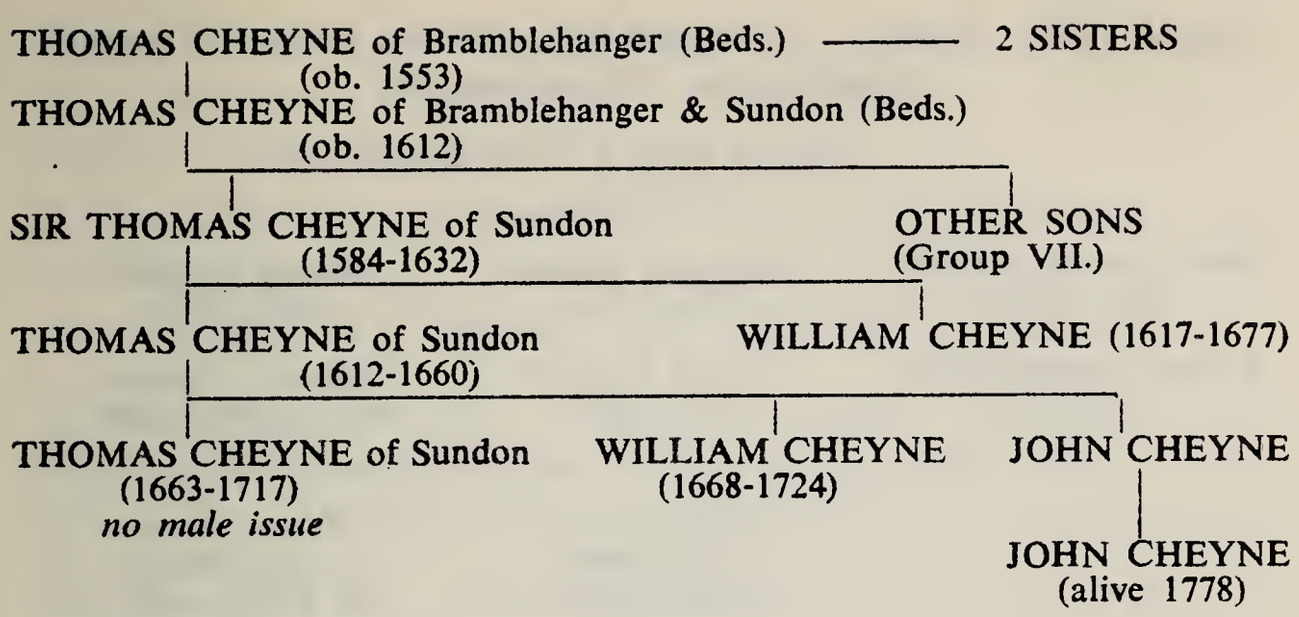
This Francis Cheyne of Cogenhoe (Northants), when a boy of fourteen in 1588, commanded a troop of 48 Lances during the threat of invasion at the time of the Spanish Armada. He was Sheriff of Buckinghamshire in 1634. There is a memorial to him in the Church at Chesham Bois where he was buried in 1644, the year of the battle of Marston Moor during the Civil War. He married twice and left three sons, of whom only the youngest, Charles, married and had issue.

Charles Cheyne, in his earlier years, suffered as a staunch Royalist during the period of the Commonwealth. In 1656 he married Jane Cavendish, a daughter of the Duke of Newcastle, and, with her substantial dowry, he purchased in the following year the estate and Manor of Chelsea. In 1662 Charles Cheyne was Sheriff of Buckinghamshire, like so many of his forbears, and in 1681 King Charles the Second created him Viscount Newhaven in the peerage of Scotland.

His only son, William, second Viscount Newhaven, had an active parliamentary career, representing Amersham (Bucks) in four Parliaments between 1680 and 1702, Appleby in Westmorland in 1688, and the County of Buckinghamshire from 1695 until 1700. In 1712 he sold the Chelsea property to Sir Hans Sloane and it is from their two names that we have Cheyne Walk and Sloane Square to-day. His arms were based upon those of his ancestors, including Robert Cheyne who died in 1552 and William de Chenduit, the brother of Thomas the Shield-bearer, of two centuries previously, namely, "Chequy Or and Azure, on a fesse Gules five saltires Or". William Cheyne married twice, but he had no issue. He was described as "the last of his ancient and noble family", as he was, subject to the Bramblehanger and Sundon branches which are the subject of the next two Groups.

GROUP VI. Period — Henry the Eighth to George the Third.

For this Group we must go back a century to Thomas Cheyne, the second son of Robert.



The first Thomas Cheyne above inherited Bramblehanger from his father, Robert. He married firstly Elizabeth Rotheram and secondly Frances Docwra, leaving one son, Thomas. He appears to have lived as a well-to-do Squire, with no civic or other special activities.

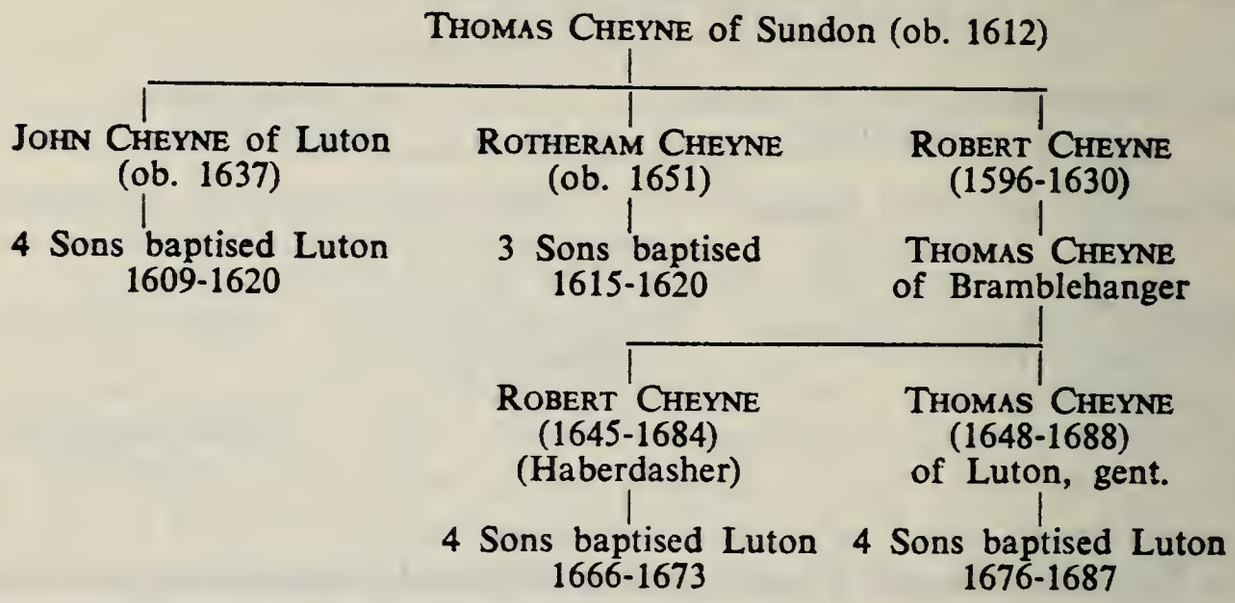
The second Thomas Cheyne married, in 1577, Frances Brocas. He had inherited Bramblehanger Manor and purchased Sundon Manor, near Luton, a town with which many later generations were to be closely connected. At the time of the Spanish Armada in 1588 he subscribed forty pounds towards the defence of the country and in 1597 he was Sheriff of Bedfordshire. He had a family of eight sons, the eldest of whom (Thomas) succeeded to Sundon Manor and another (Robert) to Bramblehanger.

Thomas Cheyne, the eldest son and heir, married in 1606 Mary, a daughter of Oliver, Lord St. John of Bletsloe, and he was knighted two years later.

Of Sir Thomas's two sons, the elder (Thomas) was a barrister of Gray's Inn and had issue, while the younger (William) was apprenticed to a vintner in London. Of the three grandsons of Thomas, the barrister, only the youngest (John) had any male issue. He had a son of the same name who was a surgeon. His descendants, if any, are the sole representatives to-day of the Sundon bough of the Bramblehanger branch of the old oak-tree (Chêne) of Northants and Bucks.

We have now reached the Seventh and last Group, which commences with the three other married sons of the Thomas Cheyne who purchased Sundon Manor and who died in 1612.

GROUP VII. Period — The four Kings of the House of Stuart, including the Commonwealth.


THOMAS CHEYNE of Sundon (ob. 1612)
JOHN CHEYNE of Luton (ob. 1637)
4 Sons baptised Luton 1609-1620
ROTHERAM CHEYNE (ob. 1651)
3 Sons baptised 1615-1620
ROBERT CHEYNE (1596-1630)
THOMAS CHEYNE of Bramblehanger
ROBERT CHEYNE (1645-1684) (Haberdasher)
4 Sons baptised Luton 1666-1673
THOMAS CHEYNE (1648-1688) of Luton, gent.
4 Sons baptised Luton 1676-1687

John and Rotheram Cheyne call for no special remark. Their brother Robert, "of Bramblehanger", was admitted to Lincoln's Inn in 1613 but does not appear to have practiced as a barrister. He married, in 1616, Lettice, daughter of Luke Norton, a draper of London, and had two sons, Thomas and Robert. The elder son, Thomas, married twice and sold the Bramblehanger estate a few years before his death in 1679. He was buried at Luton, leaving two sons bearing the usual names of Robert and Thomas, the former becoming a haberdasher in London and the latter living in Luton.

Bedfordshire Parish Registers, and especially those of Luton and Sundon, are full of Cheynes during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, during which time the name was spelt Cheney. There is little or no doubt that lineal descendants of the Bramblehanger branch are alive to-day, in London or elsewhere.

Chapter 7

CHEYNES OF BECKFORD (GLOUCESTERSHIRE)

AS ALREADY stated, a branch of Family "B" lived at Isenhamsted Chenies, a Manor in Buckinghamshire which came to them in the 12th century and remained with them until the end of the 15th. It is about twelve miles, as the crow flies, south-east of Drayton Beauchamp and some three miles from Chesham Bois, the other two seats of the family. This note concerns a John Cheyne of Isenhamsted who, towards the end of the 14th century, was granted by King Richard the Second the Manor and Priory of Beckford.

Born between 1340 and 1350 in the days of Edward the Third, John Cheyne, as a young man, took the first two stages of ordination, those of acolyte and sub-deacon, but then renounced Holy Orders, apparently to be married. By 1374 he was an Esquire to Edward the Third and he may have been knighted three years later by Richard the Second. He was Sheriff for Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, as well as Knight of the Shire for the former county, and a Justice.

John Cheyne was often employed on Missions abroad, notably in 1399 when he was sent by Henry the Fourth to announce his accession to the throne to the Pope. On his return, Cheyne was nominated by the King to be Speaker of the House of Commons but there was such strong hostility to his nomination that, on the pretext of ill-health, he resigned the post within twenty-four hours. This hostility was due partly to his early apostasy in renouncing Holy Orders and partly because he was looked upon, and with some reason, as a Lollard, he being a friend and follower of Sir John Oldcastle who had inherited the mantle of John Wycliffe.

This check to his Speakership, however, did not lessen the King's confidence in him, for in 1400 he was made a member of the Privy Council. In 1406 and again for a short time in 1410 he was Ambassador to France. He died in November 1413, leaving a widow Margaret, whom he had married in 1377 when she was the widow of John, Baron Tiptoft, and two sons, John and Edward.

John Cheyne's Will, which was signed with his Seal in 1413 and proved in April 1414, is of sufficient interest to be reproduced here. "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. In the Feast of All Hallows 1413, I John Cheyne, false

and traitor to my Lord God and to his beloved Mother Lady Saint Mary, ordain my testament and my last Will in this manner. At the beginning I, most unworthy and God's traitor, recommend me wretched and sinful wholly to the grace and to the great mercy of the Blessed Trinity, and my wretched stinking carrion to be buried outside the new Chapel in the Churchyard of Beckford. And I pray and charge my surveyors and my executors, as they will answer before God, that on my stinking carrion be neither laid cloth of gold nor of silk, but russet cloth fifteen pence the yard. And one taper at my head and another at my feet, each of five pounds weight; and two torches, each of ten pounds weight; which torches and tapers shall remain in the same Church until Easter Day in the morning. And to that Church let my executors do all things which ought duly to be done in such cases, without any more cost save doles to poor men. I will that, at the time of my burial, seven pounds of groats and pennies be dealt to poor needy men to pray for my soul, and if any man can truly say that I have done him harm in body or in goods, that ye make him full appeasement, so far as my goods will reach."

The Will was in Latin and the language evidently indicates remorse and repentance for his Lollardy, rather than for his apostasy. John Cheyne must have been a man of strong religious faith.

His eldest son John took part in a great Tournament which was organised in 1409 at Smithfield on the instructions of King Henry the Fourth for the entertainment of the Seneschal of Hainhault and his knights. On the fourth day John Cheyne Junior fought a Hainhaulter and threw him, horse and man. The King was so pleased that he dubbed Cheyne a Knight Bachelor on the spot and made him an Esquire of the Body, as his father John had been to the previous King.

It was in the middle of 1414 that the young King Henry the Fifth decided to assert his claim to the Throne of France, thus emulating his great-grandfather, Edward the Third. By the autumn, preparations were being made for war, and vessels were assembling at Southampton and other ports to transport the soldiers overseas.

In August the army was landed near Harfleur which, after a siege of seven weeks, surrendered. During that short time, however, our camp was ravaged by dysentery and our troops suffered serious losses from illness, as well as in the fighting.

Early in October the army, leaving all heavy baggage behind, left Harfleur on a long march along the Somme to Amiens and then, crossing the river, through Albert to Agincourt where the French army was drawn up in order of battle astride the road to Calais.

The French relied chiefly on their mounted men who, however,

were handicapped by the boggy state of the ground and also from being so heavily armoured that they could hardly manoeuvre. The English long-bow archers first attacked and threw the French into some confusion. The latter reformed and attacked in their turn but, after a hand-to-hand struggle, they were thrown back, suffering heavy losses in men and horses. The final English attack pierced the French van and reached their second line which was too tightly packed to move and was heavily defeated with appalling losses.

The English victory was complete, and a few days later King Henry and his forces arrived at Calais. In November they returned to England.

Sir John Cheyne Junior fought at Agincourt, being then about forty years old. Three years after that he was at the Siege of Rouen and he died in 1420, probably at the battle of Beaujé. The Escheator who dealt with his property after his death was none other than Richard Whittington, who was then Escheator for London, as well as Mayor. Sir John Cheyne left property in Gloucestershire, Lincolnshire and London. His young son, John Cheyne the Third, was also at Agincourt, where he was killed.

Edward Cheyne, the younger son of the John whose Will is reproduced above, was either killed or died of sickness at the Siege of Harfleur. His Will, which was signed on 2nd July 1415 just before he left for France, was proved on 18th of October in that year, a week before Agincourt. It was also in Latin. The preliminary language of his Will was much the same as that of his father's, but it gave details of his properties and of his legacies.

He left to his wife Elizabeth his household goods, including beds, tapestry, curtains, coverlets, hangings, cushions of silk and of red tapestry work, blankets, mattresses, sheets and table cloths, an altar cloth, knives, chests, dishes, brass and pewter pans, pots and kitchen utensils, chairs and stools, etc. The list indicates what varied articles of furniture and effects were possessed by well-to-do people in the 14th and 15th centuries. He left ten pounds to each of his three sons "to keep them at school", but, sad to relate, all three of them died in infancy soon after their father.

Those nine or ten years after 1413 were tragic ones for that gallant family, for not one of the seven male members survived them.

Chapter 8

THE CHEYNES OF THE WELSH BORDER

ONE of the outstanding Cheyne families of the past, and particularly of the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries, was one which can be described territorially as of Shropshire, Worcestershire and Herefordshire, though, at times, they also held some property in the Western Counties. They were possibly related to the Cheynes of Isenhamsted or of Drayton Beauchamp in Buckinghamshire.

These Cheynes of the Welsh Border were friends and vassals of the great House of Mortimer who held Wigmore, Ludlow and Shrewsbury Castles, and many Manors in the north-west and in the west. So closely were they allied that some reference to the varying fortunes and activities of the Mortimers forms a suitable background for some generations of the Cheynes.

The earliest Mortimer was Roger who fought at Hastings and was granted many Castles and Manors, mostly in the western Midlands. He was followed by twelve generations of descendants for whom the Christian names of Roger, Ralf, Hugh and Edmund predominated.

The third Roger de Mortimer commanded the King's forces at the battle of Evesham in 1265 when Simon de Montfort was killed, his head being sent as a ghastly gift and trophy to Mortimer's wife. People were not over-squeamish in those days. His son, the first Edmund, fought against Llewellyn for King Edward the First in 1282 and was knighted for his services against the Welsh, by whom he was slain in 1303. His son, the fourth Roger de Mortimer, was created Earl of March and acquired Ludlow Castle through his wife. He supported Queen Isabella against her husband, Edward the Second, and for a time Isabella and Roger de Mortimer virtually ruled the country. Roger met a tragic death, for on the accession of Edward the Third he was captured, tried, attainted and hanged in 1330. His son, the fifth Roger, fought at the battle of Crecy in 1346 and so distinguished himself that his father's attainted properties were restored to him, as well as the Earldom. His son, the third Edmund and 3rd Earl of March, was a man of marked ability who became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and married Phillipa Plantagenet, the heiress daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, who was a grandson

of Edward the Third. Their son was the sixth Roger and the 4th Earl of March. He, too, was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland where he was slain in 1398, having been declared Heir Presumptive to the Throne by Richard the Second in 1386. Roger's son, the fourth Edmund and 5th Earl, was the last male of his race. He died in 1424 without issue, leaving his sister, Anne de Mortimer, as his sole heir. Anne married Richard, Earl of Cambridge, a grandson of Edward the Fourth, and their son, Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, claimed the Throne in the reign of Henry the Sixth, setting up the White Rose of York against the Red Rose of Lancaster and commencing that long and bloody strife known as the Wars of the Roses.

But to return to the Cheynes. Authorities differ somewhat as to their consecutive lineage, it not being always easy to decide between father and son or brothers. This sketch, therefore, is content to refer to individuals as such.

Apparently the earliest Cheyne in those parts was an Alexander who, about 1230-35, held Norton Longville and a third of a Knight's Fee of Walter de Clifford to whom he was Seneschal. de Clifford was then Lord Marcher and bore the de Warenne arms of "Chequy Or and Azure" differenced by a fesse, whereas Alexander de Cheyne bore the de Saye coat of "Quarterly Or and Gules" with a label of five Azure. It seems possible that this Alexander was a forbear of the Sir Alexander de Cheney who married Agnes de Saye and to whom reference is made in Chapter 3. About three generations later and after a gap which it is not easy to fill genealogically, a Sir Roger de Cheyne was lord of Cheney Longville as well as of Bucknall and Norton in Shropshire. He lived from about 1285 until 1343 and in 1336 he signed as a Knight. In 1314-15 he was Sheriff of Staffordshire, and in the following year he was Sheriff of Shropshire and Juror of Forests. In 1317 he was appointed by the Earl of Arundel to be Steward of Tempster Manor. In 1321 he joined Roger de Mortimer, 1st Earl of March, in the latter's support of Queen Isabella against her husband, King Edward the Second. In 1322 he joined Thomas of Lancaster in his revolt and fought for him at the battle of Boroughbridge where he was captured by the King's forces and his properties were confiscated. He appears to have been pardoned in 1323 and his properties to have been restored. Evidently he regained the King's favour, for in 1324 he was summoned to the Great Council. In 1327-8-9 he served as Knight of the Shire for Shropshire and acquired another Manor in that county, that of Westhope in Diddlebury. He had two sons, Hugh and Roger de Cheyne.

Sir Hugh de Cheyne, possibly a son of the above Roger, was one of the foremost men of his day in Shropshire. He is first heard of as an Esquire to King Edward the Third in 1366. In 1370 he was the King's Valet, and in 1377 King's Yeoman. In 1375 he presented to the Living of Bitterley. He represented Shropshire in five Parliaments from 1378 to 1401, in which latter year he was made a Privy Councillor. A year or two later he became Custodian of Wigmore Castle and of Ludlow Castle, both of which Castles had belonged to the Mortimers. Either he or a contemporary Hugh held lands in Bereford St. Martin in Wiltshire, of which county a Sir Hugh de Cheyne was Sheriff from 1376 to 1380. It is of interest to note that in 1340 William de Chenduit of Family "B" (the brother of Thomas the Shield-bearer to Edward the Third) had been granted the Manor of Bereford St. Martin; another indication of kinship between the Cheynes of Buckinghamshire and those of Shropshire. Sir Hugh de Cheyne married Matilda de la Mare. His arms in Ludlow Church, where he was buried in 1404, are "Chequy Or and Azure a fesse Gules fretty Argent".

Another Roger de Cheyne, a grandson of the Sir Roger mentioned above, was described as a son of Hugh de Cheyne. He fought at Crecy in 1346 as a knight in Prince Edward's Division and at the subsequent capture of Calais, serving continuously in the campaign until the King's return to England. As a knight his pay was two shillings a day, as compared with twice that sum for a banneret or a baron and with twenty shillings a day for the Prince himself. It is difficult and unwise to attempt to compare the purchasing power of a shilling of that time with one of to-day, but supposing it was twenty-five times its present value, Roger de Cheyne's pay was roughly equal to fifty shillings to-day. In 1364 he was Knight of the Shire, and in the following year Sheriff of Shropshire. He was murdered in 1383.

Such is a somewhat scrappy and incomplete sketch of Cheynes of Shropshire of whom there are references early in the 14th century in the Audley Charters. It is of some interest to note, as evidence that pedigrees are often incomplete and that younger sons (who may have had descendants) are often omitted, that in 1723, four centuries after the above Roger Cheyne, a Samuel Cheney lived in a collier's cottage in the same parish of Audley to which the Charters refer. A local Parson Tringham, had there been one, might have been able to tell Samuel something of his forbears.

Chapter 9

CHEYNES OF CHESHIRE

CHEYNES (for so they spelt their name) lived in Cheshire for at least a dozen generations during 300 years from the days of King Henry the Third to those of Henry the Eighth. Their seat, of a thousand acres, was Woolaston Manor, near Nantwich, and although they sold the Manor in the middle of the 16th century, there were Cheynes in the neighbourhood for much longer. In fact, in 1780 a James Cheney, a local builder, repaired and restored Nantwich Church at a cost of £1,200.

We are only concerned with two members of the Cheshire family; Sir Alan de Cheyne who fought at Poitiers in 1356, and Thomas de Cheyne who fought at Agincourt in 1415.

There are references in the old Rolls to an Alan de Cheyne of Cheshire and to a contemporary of the same names of Dorset, and both were knights. This note assumes them to have been one and the same person and a member of the Cheshire family.

Alan de Cheyne was born about 1332 and so was too young to serve at Crecy in 1346. His first military service seems to have been in the Poitiers campaign under Edward the Black Prince. The Prince had been in command, or at any rate in nominal command, of one of King Edward's three Divisions at Crecy, at an age when many boys of to-day are hoping to get into the first Eleven at School. Ten years later, the Prince was given the real command (with the support and advice of experienced commanders like Sir John Chandos) of a force sent by King Edward to try to recover the lost Province of Acquitaine, of which only a narrow strip of coastline remained in our hands. The English and Welsh force, totalling some 7,000 men, sailed from Plymouth and other ports in September 1355, taking twelve days to get to Bordeaux where they were joined by a Gascon contingent and where they obtained horses. When one thinks that the ships to carry such a force were only from 50 to 100 tons, one realises something of the problem involved and of the discomfort of being transported overseas, with baggage, armour, food and water, in those days. Most of the Prince's men came from his extensive Earldom of Chester, from North Wales and from Gloucestershire.

During the late autumn of 1355 and the spring of 1356, the Anglo-Gascon force raided the countryside east of Bordeaux, through Armagnac to Carcassone, doing great destruction and obtaining much plunder and booty, but without being involved in any serious fighting. It was not until the summer of 1356 that what became the Poitiers campaign began to take shape, the plan being to march north to join hands with another English force which was to march south from Brittany under the Prince's cousin Henry, Duke of Lancaster, whose daughter, Blanche, married John of Gaunt.

By the time that the Prince had reached the neighbourhood of Poitiers, however (some 150 miles north of Bordeaux and half way to Chartres), King John of France, with a large army, had reached Blois, but Lancaster's force was held up by the flooding of the Loire and had to retire north again. Thus the junction of the two English forces became impossible and the Prince found himself in an awkward situation, not only by reason of a great inferiority of numbers as compared with the French, but also owing to a shortage of food for his men and his horses. To retreat in such circumstances might be disastrous, and so he decided to fight there and then, even if it were only to be able to retreat in good order.

The Prince's army was in order of battle on Monday, the 19th September 1356. It was in three Divisions, the Van, the Main and the Rear, he himself commanding the Main body. On the left flank of their position and running parallel to it was a deep and wide ditch, hidden from the enemy by a high thick hedge, a combination which formed a useful obstacle to French attacking cavalry. The long hedge had only one gap, just wide enough for four horses abreast to pass through, once the ditch at that point had been partly filled up by the English for that very purpose. Behind this formidable obstacle, but out of sight of the French, was posted a strong body of English archers and in such a way that they could shoot into the flanks of any attacking force. The gap was a trap which tempted the French horsemen, who charged at it in strength, hoping to get at the English Main Division which they could see. But the French, as they approached, met a withering cross-fire from our archers which was directed at disabling the horses. The result was a shambles of struggling wounded horses and of unhorsed heavily-armoured French riders and hardly any of them even reached the gap.

That first French attack was a complete failure, but it was followed by another, from which hard hand-to-hand fighting ensued before that, too, was thrown back. Then the Dauphin's Division, armoured but on foot, got through to our Main body and, for a time, the result was in the balance. Our men suffered heavy losses, but

they stood firm, well knowing that if they gave way the whole force would be lost. The French then threw in their last reserves, the King's own troops, which included the pick of the knights, and a furious mêlée followed in which, for a time, neither side gave ground. Finally, relief came to the English when a Gascon mounted force, which had been sent round the French flank, attacked the enemy from their rear. The French, after a gallant fight, then fled, their King and his son the Dauphin being made prisoners. The rout became complete and the French losses in casualties and in prisoners were very severe. Almost the whole of their baggage and stores fell into our hands. The battle was over and the Prince's army, replenished with food, was able to march back to Bordeaux by easy stages.

Among the Prince's officers, apart from his principal commanders like Chandos and Audley, was Alan de Cheyne who was in attendance on the Prince and who took an active part in the dispositions for the battle and in the fighting itself. By way of reward for his services at Poitiers, Cheyne was granted an annuity of forty pounds for life and was appointed Janitor of Beeston Castle in Cheshire and Constable of Rhuddlan Castle in Flintshire, each of them important and lucrative posts. The Black Prince was always generous in his gifts to friends and to all who rendered him special service and, in his Will, which he signed a few days before his death in 1376, he left a legacy "to Monsieur Alan Cheyne, our bed of camora powdered with blue eagles". King Edward the Third used the eagle as an extra Crest, as did the Black Prince and his illegitimate son Roger de Clarendon.

Alan de Cheyne returned to England with the Prince in April 1357.

Under the Treaty of Bretigny, two years later, Guienne and Languedoc were restored to England, but only for a few years. By the date of the Black Prince's death we had lost the whole of Acquitaine again.

About 1362 Alan Cheyne had married Joan, a daughter of Sir John Maltravers whose wife was a Foliot of Melbury Osmund in Dorset, and through that marriage Alan Cheyne obtained properties in Dorset, which county he represented in Parliament. In 1381, five years after the death of the Black Prince, the Constable of Rhuddlan Castle was still Sir Alan Cheyne, "an aged and infirm veteran who was not able to abide there", and so a successor was appointed. That was the year of the Peasants' Revolt and of Wat Tyler's march on London, at a time when the north-west coast of England and Wales was threatened by attack by the Irish and the Scots. Rhuddlan was an important stronghold for the King's forces, and it needed

a young and active commander.

Alan Cheyne died in or about 1384, without surviving issue.

A Thomas de Cheyne (1394-1453) of the Woolaston family served at the Siege of Harfleur in September 1415 and at the battle of Agincourt in the following month. He continued to serve in France until the Siege of Rouen in 1417. He and his family bore as their arms "Lozengy Argent and Azure a fesse Or fretty Gules". This resembled the de Warenne shield which had been adopted by the Cheynes of Buckinghamshire, if we bear in mind that a lozengy shield is merely a chequered shield tilted at an angle of 45 degrees. In fact, some of the de Warennes bore the lozengy shield and others the chequered one. The assumption is made here that the Cheynes of Woolaston, Cheshire, were akin to Family "B" of Northants and Bucks.

Chapter 10

CHEYNES OF THE WESTERN COUNTIES

A NOTEWORTHY branch, for which records exist for at least nine generations and of which the pedigree might possibly be brought down later, held lands in Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Wiltshire, Devon, Dorset and the Channel Islands from the days of King Henry the Third. Like the Cheynes of Woolaston, Cheshire, they bore neither the ancient Cheney arms nor those of de Warenne or de Saye. Instead, they bore "Gules four (otherwise five) fusils in fesse Argent, on each an escallop Sable". This shield may have been an adaptation from the de Warennes, as already suggested under "Cheshire", or it may have been adopted from the arms of a feudal overlord or through a marriage connection with an important family. The first individual Cheney to bear the Fusils appears to have been Robert de Chesnay, Bishop of Lincoln from 1148 until his death in 1168; too early a date for an hereditary coat of arms. He was the youngest of the five sons of Roger de Chesnay of the family which we have called Family "A" of Kent. On the other hand, about the middle of the 12th century, Simon de Cheyne of Family "B" of Buckinghamshire married the daughter and heiress of Ralf Pinckney, who bore "Or five fusils in fesse Gules", and, a century later, Joan a daughter of a later Ralf de Cheyne of Buckinghamshire, married Thomas d'Autrey who bore "Azure five fusils conjoined in fesse Or". We must leave this question unsolved, but our assumption is that the Cheynes of the Western Counties sprang from the Buckinghamshire Family "B".

In the reign of King John and the early years of that of Henry the Third, a Nicholas de Cheyne was lord of the Manor of Up Ottery in Devon.

His son, Sir William de Cheyne, went on a Crusade in 1235 with his kinsman d'Albini (Daubeney) who bore "Gules five fusils in fesse Argent", a coat similar, except for the tinctures, to those of the Pinckney and d'Autrey families mentioned above, and identical (except for the number of fusils) with that borne by the Bishop of Lincoln. This Sir William may have been the first of his own particular family to bear the Fusils, to which he may have added the escallops as a charge resulting from his Crusade. He received from

Henry the Third several favours and grants of land. In 1240, for example, he was granted property in Jersey, and in 1248 in Guernsey, as well as in Steeple Morden in Cambridgeshire, in Cottred (Herts) and in Poyntington in Dorset. In 1256 he was overlord of Clopton (Cambridgeshire), and altogether he held several knight's Fees in capite, with the right of free warren.

In 1247 the Bailiffs of Bristol were ordered to provide for William de Cheyne's transport and for his safe escort on his arrival there with the King's treasure from Ireland, this being at a time when the King, owing to his extravagance, was very short of cash, having had to pawn his plate and jewels and to sell honours and privileges. In 1251 William was paid 35 marks out of the issues of the Bishopric of Winchester for a big horse which the King had bought from him, and in the same year he was paid his expenses for his Mission for the King overseas. Some years later, and possibly at the battle of Evesham in 1265, William de Cheyne lost his eyesight, an occurrence by no means rare in those days, as a consequence of a heavy blow on the helmet from a mace or a sword. He died very soon afterwards, leaving a widow, Felicia de Wincarnis, and three sons of whom the heir was Nicholas.

Nicholas de Cheyne had been a ward, as a minor, of Queen Eleanor of Provence, the widow of King Henry the Third. In feudal times the wardship of minors and of widows was vested in the King who could and did delegate it to others. Wardship involved not only succession to properties but control of the marriages of male and female heirs, with resulting pecuniary conditions beneficial to the guardian. This right had originated from the obligation of military service of every tenant to his overlord and of the latter to the King, and also from the fact that when lands passed to an infant heir or heiress there was no one to fulfil that military obligation, the basis of all tenancy. Consequently, the King or the overlord appointed a man capable of military service on behalf of the heir. Reasonable as this measure may have been in theory, there was much abuse of it in practice, for wardships were sold as chattels and became quite a profitable business over which there was but little control. Abuses were rarer in cases of in capite tenants than in those delegated to sub-tenants. In the case of Nicholas de Cheyne, the military obligation was direct to the Sovereign.

Nicholas owned lands in Cottered (Hertfordshire), Long Stanton (Cambridgeshire), Poyntington (Dorset) and properties in Devon, Somerset and the Channel Isles. From 1294 until 1297 he was Governor of the Channel Islands. He served overseas in 1297 and against the Scots from 1299 to 1301. He qualified for knighthood,

but does not appear to have been knighted. He was Sheriff of Dorset and Somerset for several years between 1299 and 1320, and was knight of the Shire for Somerset in 1309 and for Devon in 1312. He married Eleanor de Gorges and he died about 1326, leaving a son, William, and a daughter.

Sir William de Cheyne, son of Nicholas, inherited the family properties and followed his father as Governor of the Channel Islands from 1341 to 1343. He married, in 1321, Joanna de Cliveden and, secondly, Joan, a sister of Sir Ralf de Gorges. In 1346 he served in the King's Division at Crecy, together with his son Edmund (then just of age), as did Sir John de Paveley (whose daughter later on married William de Cheyne's second son, Ralf), and Sir John Streech, whose granddaughter married into the Cheyne family 45 years later. They were among the thousand knights who served in the Crecy campaign. Sir William de Cheyne was killed in the battle, leaving three sons, Edmund, Ralf and Nicholas, and three daughters.

The eldest son, Sir Edmund de Cheyne (born in 1325), served continuously in France until after the capture of Calais at the end of 1347. In 1369 he was knight of the Shire for Somerset and served as Sheriff of Dorset and Somerset until 1372. Although married, he died without issue in 1375.

Sir Ralf de Cheyne, a half-brother of Edmund, was Sheriff of Wiltshire in 1377 and served in Parliament as knight of the Shire for that county from 1378 until 1388. He, like his forbears, bore "Gules four fusils in fesse Argent, each charged with an escallop Sable". In 1361 he married Joan Pavely. He died in 1399, leaving a son, William.

Sir William de Cheyne (1374-1420), son of Ralf, was knighted in 1401, having married Cecilia Streech who brought him, as her dowry, an estate in Pinhoe, Devon, to add to those which he had inherited. He was Sheriff of Wiltshire in 1402 and in 1409. It is uncertain whether he served at Agincourt in 1415, but he was at the Siege of Rouen two years later. He died in 1320, leaving two sons, Edmund and John.

Sir Edmund de Cheyne (1403-30), the eldest son and the heir, was knight of the Shire for Wiltshire in 1429, the year before he died. He married Alice, a daughter of Sir Humphrey de Stafford and of his wife, Elizabeth Maltravers, two ancient Dorset families into which Sir Alan de Cheyne of Cheshire had married. Edmund de Cheyne was the last of the male line of his family to hold Poyntington Manor in Dorset and Coddred in Hertfordshire for, when he died at the early age of twenty-seven, he left three daughters and co-heiresses but no son. His eldest daughter Anne married Sir John Willoughby who

was killed at the battle of Tewkesbury in 1461, leaving a son of the same name who fought at Bosworth in 1485 for Henry Tudor, was created Baron Willoughby de Broke and was an ancestor of the present twentieth Baron.

But although the family estates were divided among the three daughters and so passed to other families, the name of Cheyne did not become extinct in the West, for Edmund's younger brother, John de Cheyne, had inherited the property at Pinhoe in Devon, as well as one in Cornwall. This John appears to have been knighted. He left two sons, John and Edmund.

John de Cheyne, the elder son, was Sheriff of Devon in 1453, and of Somerset and Dorset three times subsequently. He was knight of the Shire for Wiltshire in 1477-78 and was "of Pinhoe". He was married and had four daughters, but no son.

The younger son, Edmund de Cheyne, had a son named John, who married before 1512 and may have had descendants.

This account of the Cheynes of the Western Counties is incomplete, for in more than one generation it omits younger sons who may have left male descendants. From one of them may possibly have sprung a family who spelt their name Cheyney and lived in the neighbourhood of Wilcot and Oare in Wiltshire during the 17th and 18th centuries. Several of them were pupils of Winchester College and two of them were also Masters there. One of them, Thomas Cheyney, D.D., having been a pupil, was Informator or Head Master at the College for 24 years until 1724, when he was succeeded by his son of the same names who was also Dean of Winchester Cathedral.

Later on, in the 18th and 19th centuries, Cheyneys were farmers at Downton (Wiltshire) and also at Fawley in Hampshire, where they held an ancient farmhouse called Stone Farm which had been built in the middle of the 17th century from the original stones of Beaulieu Abbey after its demolition a hundred years previously.

There was another family, whose name was spelt Cheney, who acquired the Manor of Punknowle, in Dorset, at the end of the 15th century and who lived in Punknowle, though not in the Manor, four hundred years later. At least one descendant of that family is living to-day and his arms are based upon those of the Cheynes of the Western Counties, they being "Gules four fusils conjoined in fesse Argent with a cross-crosslet Sable between three plates".

Chapter 11

SOME OTHER FAMILIES

Suffolk

IN CHAPTER 3 it is stated that the Warbleton and other Sussex properties of the Kent Cheneys were sold in 1610 by Sir Oliver Cheney. He had been Sheriff of Cambridgeshire in the preceding year and was described as "of Longstow, Camb." This Manor of Stow, or Longstow, had come to the Cheneys with Anne Broughton when she married Sir Thomas Cheney, K.G., of Shurland in 1528. It is merely a guess that this Sir Oliver, who left Sussex in 1610, may have been the father of a certain Francis Cheney who lived at Eye in Suffolk until he was buried there in 1668.

Francis Cheney was a boy when King Charles the First commenced to impose a series of taxes and loans, a proceeding which ultimately induced Parliament to assert their authority in such matters by passing into law the Petition of Rights in 1628. When, a few years later and despite the Petition of Rights which forbade the imposition of taxes without the previous approval of Parliament, the King imposed a tax under the name of Ship money on all counties, inland as well as maritime, many people, following the example of John Hampden, refused to pay. Not so Francis Cheney, however, for he was a staunch royalist. In fact, during the Civil War which followed a few years later, Francis Cheney was a Captain in the King's forces at the battles of Edgehill, Chalgrove Field, where Hampden was killed fighting for the Parliamentary army), Marston Moor and Naseby. In 1646, the year before the Scots handed over King Charles to Parliament for a handsome sum of money, Francis Cheney was forced, with so many other royalists, to compound his property in Eye "for delinquency" and, of course, for a more or less nominal sum. Two years later, just before the execution of the King, Cheney was "carefully secured" and in 1655 he was sent as a prisoner to King's Lynn. How long he was kept in prison is not known, but he would have been released at the latest in 1660, on the accession of Charles the Second, when doubtless his property was restored to him.

He had married in 1632 and had two sons, Thomas and Oliver, and two daughters. Thomas, the elder son, married Elizabeth Clopton of a well-known Suffolk family, and they had a son, also named

Thomas, who was born at Eye in 1670. Oliver, Francis's younger son, who had been born in 1641, was unable (probably for pecuniary reasons) to go to Trinity Hall, Cambridge, until he was 27 years old, just after his father's death. He took a law degree in 1673 and subsequently lived at Eye. There is a memorial to Francis Cheney dated 1668 in Eye Parish Church.

Thus ends a short reference to a staunch and stubborn royalist who, like several others of his name, suffered in the King's cause.

ABINGDON (BERKSHIRE)

It may be remembered that Roger Cheney, one of the eight sons of Sir John and Eleanor (Shottesbroke) Cheney, settled at West Woodhay in Berkshire in the middle of the 15th century. His descendants lived there, and at Uphavon in Wiltshire, for at least four generations down to the end of the 16th century.

There was a family who may or may not have descended from Roger, their name being spelt Cheyney, who lived in Abingdon for about 200 years, through the periods of the Commonwealth and the Restoration, to the end of the 18th century. They produced three Mayors of Abingdon. The first of them was Richard Cheyney who owned the "Crown and Thistle" Inn and was elected Mayor in October 1647, a year in which Abingdon was occupied by troops of the Parliamentary army, though until three years previously the town had been a Royalist base. When first elected Mayor, Cheyney refused to serve, either for personal or for political reasons, but he changed his mind after being committed to prison and fined forty pounds. He was a Burgess in 1648 and also in the following year, when the King was executed.

His son, or brother, William Cheyney, a Mercer of Abingdon, who was evidently a public-spirited man, was Mayor five times between 1663 and 1677, during the reign of Charles the Second. His son, also a William Cheyney, was Mayor in 1685-86, during the short reign of James the Second. This family leased or owned for many years the ancient Manor of FitzHarris, just outside Abingdon, where they resided. The last member of that family to be connected with Abingdon appears to have been a William Cheyney, a leather-seller and a citizen of London, who died in 1766, and to whom there is a memorial in Abingdon Church.

OXFORDSHIRE

This is a county with which Cheneys have long been associated.

William de Chesnay, a grandson of the first Ralf of Family "A" and a brother of Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, commanded the forces of King Stephen in Oxfordshire during the turbulent times from 1142 until the King's death in 1154. Among other properties which he held of the King were the Manor of Dettington and lands in Milton (Oxon.) He and his family made generous grants to the ancient Benedictine Abbey of Eynsham, which was situated between Oxford and Witney. One of his nephews held a knight's Fee in Barford, near Banbury, and another held lands in Ducklington. William de Chesnay's descendants only lasted for three generations in the male line and then became extinct.

After a gap of several centuries, Cheneys appeared again in Oxfordshire during, and probably before, the 16th century.

There is a noteworthy family of that name in Banbury to-day who have lived there since a John Cheney started as a printer in 1767. His direct descendant, John Cheney, is the Managing Director of that business to-day, in 1959; a remarkable record. Each of the seven generations of the family has produced a John and several of them a Thomas, the other customary Cheney Christian name. A Robert Cheyne (for so his name was spelt) was Mayor of Banbury in 1746 and in 1936-37 John Cheney, of the family mentioned above, was Mayor, as was his wife, Mrs. Cheney, in 1949-50.

Five hundred years ago William Caxton found that the art of printing, which he had acquired in Bruges and introduced into England, developed in him a love of learning and of literature. Generally speaking, it seems reasonable to suppose that printing, with its proof-reading, must add to the knowledge of language and to the power of expression in words which, to a receptive mind, is a natural introduction to learning and culture.

There are Cheneys (Cheynes, Cheyneys and Chesneys) to-day, as there will be in the future and, even if they do not attempt to establish their kinship with those of the distant past, they may be proud of a name to which many have added lustre.

The ancient Arms of Wyatt

"Per fesse Azure and Gules a barnacle Argent"

Part II - Some Wyatts

FOREWORD

"WHAT'S IN a name? that which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet."

True as that may be of a rose, the answer to the question is surely that there is a great deal in a name, that is to say, in a surname. Whether it is in origin occupative, or a place-name, or a Christian name, or a pageant name; whether it is of Saxon or Norman or of some other national origin, whatever the source may be, a name is often indicative of the distant past and it may bring an association to a family which, by long use, tends to become natural and appropriate to those who bear it. Their name becomes a part of their individuality, as well as a collective bond between them.

Most Wyatts of today may reasonably assume that their name derives from Guy-ot, the Norman diminutive of Guy, and that it became anglicised into Wiot (Wyot), Wiat and finally Wyatt. A few may derive their name from the Anglo-Saxon Wigod or Wigard, from which evolved Wyard which, in the course of time, was generally absorbed into Wyatt.

As is well known, the process of the gradual adoption in England of hereditary surnames started among the propertied classes early in the 12th century, although for the poorer classes it started later and lasted longer. In the case of Wyatt, the process can be seen in operation from early Records. For example, the Buckinghamshire Pipe Rolls of the end of the 12th century refer to a Richard son of Guy, whereas those of Yorkshire of that period mention an already adopted surname of Wiote. On the other hand, a century later we find Geoffrey son of Guy in Yorkshire, a John Guido in Bucks and a Wyot, the King's huntsman, in Dorset. Evidently progress towards hereditary surnames was not so much regional as individual, and probably it depended upon the social status of the family, or some other reason, which induced a man to adopt a name which he could pass on to his descendants. In those days of bad communications, when families remained in the same locality for generations and when most of them were illiterate, there was no need for the humbler folk to identify themselves otherwise than as John son of Robin, or Robert the Smith, whereas, for various reasons and especially for the transfer of land to their heirs, the landed gentry tended to label their families

with a common surname, for which purpose they often adopted the name or place of their lands.

In dealing with a surname originating from a Christian name such as Wyatt, there are difficulties in linking families of that name which might not exist quite to the same extent with some place-names; especially a place-name from Normandy. Wyatts sprang up from Guys all over England and in many cases they had no more inter-kinship than a Johnson had with a Robinson. For this reason, and to avoid dealing with a name as distinct from a family, some selection and restriction is necessarily imposed and even then there is no genealogical reason to assume that one family of Wyatt is necessarily akin to another.

Chapter 12

THE WYOTS OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

THERE WAS a family named Wyot which flourished in South Bucks during the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries; the earliest record of them being to a Wiotus de Colnbrook who was alive in 1315 in the reigns of the three Edwards, during the long years when we were fighting the Scots under Balliol, Wallace and Bruce. They held lands in the district bounded by Langley Marish, Datchet, Wraysbury, Horton and Colnbrook; just east of Windsor and Eton. Although for two or three generations they were local notabilities, no memory of them remains other than that preserved by an early 15th century Brass in Langley Marish Church which states, in Latin, "Here lie William Wyot and John Wyot his kinsman which aforesaid John died on the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary in the year of our Lord 1410, on whose souls may God have mercy. Amen."

The known generations of these Wyots were—

I. Wiotus de Colnbrook was alive in 1315.

II. William Wyot, of Colnbrook. (born c. 1335) John Wyot, born c. 1340-45 (buried Langley 1410)

III. William Wyot II. (1360—1427) Richard Wyot. (1362?—1431) Thomas Wyot. Isabel Wyot.

Most of these Wyots lived through the ups and downs of the Hundred Years War against France, which country had, for a time, Scotland as an ally. When Edward the Third came to the Throne in 1326, all the English possessions in France except Bordeaux and Bayonne had been lost, but during his reign they were all recovered, from Normandy down to Acquitaine, thanks to the victories of Crecy and Poitiers and to the domination of the English long-bow over the cross-bow and over mounted men in armour. But those territories were recovered only for a time for, by the end of that reign in 1376, all were lost again except Bordeaux and Calais. In fact, there was such a reversal of fortune that, immediately after the death of Edward the Third, the French actually invaded our South Coast, ravaging several ports and towns.

William Wyot I, of Colnbrook

The first reference to him appears to have been in 1359 when with others he was ordered by the King to transfer a certain Sir John de Moleyns from Nottingham Castle, where he was imprisoned, to Cambridge Castle where he died three year later. The de Moleyns family held the Manor of Stoke Poges and lands in Fulmer and Datchet and were friends and neighbours of the Wyots for a long time. When Sir William, the son of Sir John de Moleyns, went to France in 1367 to serve under the Black Prince and John of Gaunt, he left a power of attorney to William Wyot for the protection of his properties in Buckinghamshire and in Bampton (Oxon,) during his absence. In 1359 William Wyot was one of twenty men-at-arms who, with archers and foot-soldiers, were chosen from "the strongest and bravest of the County." They sailed from Sandwich to France at the time when the King was assembling an army at Calais, just prior to the Treaty of Bretigny with King John of France. As a mounted esquire, Wyot was allowed twelve pence a day for food for man and horse.. This does not seem much but, at that time, a labourer could keep a family on his pay of two-pence a day.

In the year 1368 William Wyot had a house in Charing, Westminster, as did Richard Wyot thirty years later. The date of his death is not known. He was buried at Langley Marish, as already stated.

John Wyot, of Wraysbury and Horton

John Wyot was a contemporary and a friend of Geoffrey Chaucer, the father of English poetry who in 1366 married Phillipa Roet, a sister of Catherine Swinford (born Roet) who became the wife of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, in 1390; rather late in the day, for she already had by him four children (the Beauforts) during the lifetime of Lancaster's first wife Blanche. So Geoffrey Chaucer became the brother-in-law of John of Gaunt and an uncle (by marriage) of the three Beaufort brothers and of their sister Joan, all of whom were legitimised and restored in blood and in rank in 1397 by a special Act of Parliament, two years before the death of their father. The Beauforts were the ancestors of no less than four Kings of England, Edward the Fourth, Richard the Third, Henry the Seventh and Henry the Eighth, and of two Queens regnant, Mary and Elizabeth Tudor, although the Act had specifically debarred the Beauforts themselves from succession to the Throne.

John Wyot's life covered most of the reign of Edward the Third down to the first ten years of that of Henry the Sixth. He was a small boy when that terrible scourge, the Black Death, ravaged the

country in 1349, as it did again twenty years later, upsetting the whole national economy and transforming the feudal social system by creating a serious shortage of agricultural labour and consequently of food. This in turn brought about widespread and reckless discontent and bred a new feeling of independence in the minds of the peasants who hitherto had been practically the slaves of their masters. The country's population of a little over three millions was reduced by deaths to two millions, mostly from the fell disease itself but quite a number from under-nourishment and starvation. This state of affairs culminated in various peasants' risings all over the country. They were suppressed with the greatest difficulty, but without destroying the seed of independence which had become firmly rooted. There was, at best, a truce between master and man.

There is no evidence that John Wyot took a military part in the French campaigns, but he was instrumental in Buckinghamshire in the collection of the subsidies and the poll taxes for defence at home and for the war against France. His first duty of that kind was in 1377 when, on the accession of Richard the Second, he was commissioned with others to levy and collect in Buckinghamshire the first Poll Tax of four-pence from everyone, male and female, over fourteen years old: a tax so obviously unfair that it created much ill-feeling and became very difficult to collect. This was at a time when the French had raided and ravaged Rye and Lewes. A few months later, they sacked Folkestone, Portsmouth, Plymouth and Southampton and ravaged the Isle of Wight.

Wyot's next collection was for a Subsidy based upon moveable property in February 1378. It brought in about £40,000 but that sum was soon spent. The next was in April 1379. This was another Poll Tax but, while the labourers and shop-keepers had to pay four-pence, the tax was graduated upwards according to means. Knights and the more important merchants paid £1, Esquires and smaller merchants less, and Barons and Judges more. This tax yielded less than the Subsidy had and it was used to redeem the King's jewels, which had been pawned, and to help to fit out another expedition to France. His next Tax was in 1380, when another Subsidy on moveables was levied from which the peasants were exempt. This last tax was a failure, owing to the resistance to it which involved danger to the lives of the Collectors.

Again in 1383, 1385 and 1388 (the year of the Scots' victory at Chevy Chase) and, for the last time in 1395, John Wyot was Tax Commissioner for Buckinghamshire, on the eve of the truce with France.

During the earlier years of Wyot's tax activities, unrest among the

population was widespread, it being especially acute in Kent and in Essex where John Ball and then Wat Tyler led a march on London, pillaging houses and threatening the lords and gentry on the way. John Ball influenced the mob with his disturbing question—"When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then a gentleman?" and he demanded a massacre of the upper classes. Wat Tyler was the ruler of London for a whole week, until he was struck down in June 1381 by Walworth, the Lord Mayor. Meanwhile, the rebels had murdered many well-known people in London, particularly judges, lawyers and tax-collectors. The King (Richard) had been in great danger but his own coolness and the prompt action of Walworth just saved the very ugly situation. Once their leader was killed before their eyes, the mob was undecided and cohesion was lost. The rebels dispersed, and the King and the propertied classes were saved, but it had been a very near thing.

In January 1399, a few months before King Richard was deposed, John Wyot was granted the office of Controller and Surveyor of the Royal Manor and Park of Woodstock for his life, the grant being confirmed in the following September by the new King Henry the Fourth. Woodstock was for long a royal residence, being granted by King Henry to his Queen, Joan (of Navarre) who, in 1411, granted it to Thomas Chaucer (the son of the poet), who was a first cousin of the Beauforts, the half-brothers of the King. About a century and a half later, in 1554, the Princess Elizabeth (afterwards Queen) retired to Woodstock when she was released from the Tower of London, where she had been confined during the trial and execution of Lady Jane Grey.

In the last year of the 14th century John of Gaunt died, as did Geoffrey Chaucer in the following year. John Wyot, by then an old man for those days, appears to have spent the last few years of his life as a secular cleric at Horton Rectory until, in 1410, he was buried in Langley Marish church. If we wish to be reminded of the manners and habits of different types of persons of John Wyot's days, we can do so from Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales."

William Wyot II

He may have been a son of William or of John Wyot, and he was sometimes, but not always, referred to as a clerk. If so, he was a secular cleric, for he was married. The earliest reference to him is in 1398 in connection with the marriage of young William de Moleyns, then a King's ward and the last of the male line of his family. He (de Moleyns) was killed thirty years later when Joan of Arc was captured at the seige of Orleans. In 1406 William Wyot and John

Barton, who was then a Knight of the Shire for Bucks with Richard Wyot, were empowered to levy £600 in Kent by an arrangement with Richard Yonge, Bishop of Rochester, who handed over to them the income of the Bishopric against their undertaking to allow him 100 marks a year for his maintenance. In 1417 Sir William de Moleyns renounced, in favour of William Wyot and his wife Elizabeth, all his claims in respect of the rent and service which hitherto William Wyot had rendered to Sir William de Moleyns in respect of the latter's Manor of Datchet. Instead, Wyot was to render one rose yearly at Midsummer as a token in lieu of all services. At the same time, Sir William transferred to William and Elizabeth Wyot all the freehold rights of his property at Bampton Manor in Oxfordshire. These operations were presumably protective measures connected with the wardship of young de Moleyns. In 1420, William Wyot and John Cheyne of Isenhamsted were commissioned by King Henry the Fifth to raise a loan in Buckinghamshire towards the cost of the war in France. In 1427 the Escheator of Bucks and Oxon was notified of the death of William Wyatt, who was buried by the side of his forbears in Langley Marish Church.

Richard Wyot

He lived from about 1360 until 1431 and was the best-known member of his family. He is mentioned in November 1399 as a petitioner to the new King, Henry the Fourth, for recompense because, in the course of repairs and an extension of the King's Gate and wall in Westminster, Richard Wyot's neighbouring house had been razed and a portion of his garden had been taken from him. This may have been the house owned thirty years previously by William Wyot I, and which Richard had inherited. Richard also had property in Bucks and a Manor which he had just acquired in Buscot, Berkshire. In 1403 he was a member of the Commission for Array "for defence against certain of the King's enemies who have lately invaded the realm and burnt it in divers parts." The Commission was to report to the King and his Council by the octave of St. Hilary, which was in the following January. Such inspections and mobilisations of men and arms were the order of the day during the first few years of the reign of Henry the Fourth, who had to deal not only with the Scots but with the revolt of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, whose troops fought the King's at the battle of Shrewsbury in 1403 when Harry Hotspur, Percy's son, was killed. But Shrewsbury, although a victory for the King, only brought about a lull in the fighting, for Percy was preparing for another effort, in which he was supported by Owen Glendower.

As soon as the Array Report was rendered, Richard Wyot was made a Justice of the Peace for Bucks and he, with Thomas Chaucer (then Knight of the Shire for Oxfordshire) was commisioned to enquire for the King into the question of the ownership and title of certain Manors in Hampshire. Not only had Geoffrey Chaucer and John Wyot been contemporaries and friends but so were their sons, Thomas and Richard, and this connection helped Richard Wyot at the outset of his career, for in 1406 he was appointed by Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, to be his Seneschal and Steward. In that capacity Wyot virtually controlled the life of the city of Winchester during the great annual Fair of St. Giles, when he summoned all the tenants of the Bishopric to account for their service to the Court of the Pavilion on St. Giles' Hill, just outside the city. In addition, he administered the vast and wide-spread properties of the See, as well as those belonging to Beaufort personally, and he was a party, on behalf of his patron and sometimes with Thomas Chaucer, to the deeds, charters and settlements connected with those properties. So he had the advantage of serving an important and influential man; a service which doubtless turned to his personal benefit in more ways than one, for high patronage in those days was greatly sought after.

Henry Beaufort was an exceptionally able man and his brilliant career was not wholly due to the fact that he was a son of John of Gaunt and a half-brother of King Henry the Fourth. While very young, he fell in love with a daughter of the Earl of Arundel and sister of the Archbishop of Canterbury and by her had an illegitimate daughter. This did not impede his promotion in the Church, although naturally he was not on the best of terms with the Archbishop. While still in his teens Beaufort held three Prebends and, when twenty, he was Bishop of Wells. A year later he was promoted to the Bishopric of Lincoln. In 1403, when only twenty-six, he became Lord Chancellor and in the next year he succeeded William of Wykeham in the rich See of Winchester, resigning the Great Seal but remaining a member of the Privy Council. Henry Beaufort was a very wealthy man and he often lent, or gave, large sums to the King, who was always in need of money. In 1424 Beaufort became Chancellor again and, as such, virtually ruled England. A little later he was created a Cardinal. When he died in 1447, he left large sums to the Church, as well as to his relatives, including his natural daughter.

Richard Wyot, quite apart from his temporary post at Winchester, became a man of note during the reigns of the three Henrys, the Fourth, the Fifth and the Sixth, in those stirring times from Agincourt to Joan of Arc. In 1407, 1414, 1415, 1421 and 1426 he represented the County of Buckinghamshire in Parliament, sharing the representa-

tion with Sir John Cheyne, a member of a Bucks family with whom, not only the Wyots of Bucks but, a century later, the Wyatts of Kent were closely associated in various ways. Richard Wyot also served as High Sheriff for Bucks in 1410, 1421 and 1424. In 1417 he was Sheriff for London and for Middlesex; another County with which he had territorial connections, holding lands in Stanwell. Those were days when Sheriffs had great power, they being the local executives of the King, although since the reign of Henry the Second their powers had been reduced somewhat by the Shire Courts gradually giving way to the King's own Courts which applied the Common Law by the medium of the itinerant Justices in Eyre and of Assize.

When after the death of Henry the Fourth in 1413 his son Henry the Fifth came to the Throne, his first act of policy was to prepare for war against France to recover the former English possessions there, and, for that purpose, he was busy in 1414 raising and equipping an expeditionary force and the shipping to convey it across the Channel. In that same year when Richard Wyot was in Parliament for Buckinghamshire, there was a revival of Lollardy under Sir John Oldcastle in that county, and Wyot was commissioned to enquire into the names of all Lollards who had not yet been captured, and to arrest and imprison them. Oldcastle was then arrested and imprisoned in the Tower, but he escaped and was at large for a time. Ultimately he was recaptured, tried as an outlawed heretic and a traitor, and was hanged and burned to death. John Cheyne of Bucks, a friend of Richard Wyot and a follower of Oldcastle, was also arrested. He was condemned to be hanged, drawn and quartered, but was fortunate enough to have the sentence reduced to imprisonment, from which he was subsequently released.

About this time there was a great deal of false money in circulation, and in 1416 Richard Wyot was one of a Commission appointed to enquire into counterfeiting in Hampshire and to pursue and arrest the forgers. In 1417 he was Escheator for the vast lands and properties in six Counties from Cumberland to Kent of Sir William Fitz-Water, and in the following year he was a Commissioner of Array again in Bucks "for the defence of the Country during the King's absence in France." In 1419, 1420 and 1421 he was commissioned with his brother William to raise money by loan or levy in Buckinghamshire "for resistance to the malice of the King's enemies at home and abroad." This was during the critical years when, notwithstanding our victory at Agincourt and the capture of Rouen, we were already finding it hard to hold our own in France, just before the death of King Henry the Fifth.

During the early part of the reign of Henry the Sixth, after

beating the French and their Scottish allies at the battle of Verneuil in 1424, our possessions in France were gradually being lost again, and the strain on England in money and in man-power was felt severely. In March 1430, two months before the execution of Joan of Arc, Richard Wyot was commissioned once more to convoke notable persons of the Counties of Bucks and Beds to persuade them to lend money to the King for a voyage he proposed to undertake in April to his realm in France to end the war there. At that time, the adult male population of the County of Bucks was only about six thousand and among the chief families were the Cheynes, the Hampdens (ancestors of the John Hampden of two centuries later), the Cloptons of Langley Marish, the Brudenells, the Bulstrodes and the Delafields. This was Richard Wyot's last public task, for in the autumn of 1431 he died and at his request he was buried by the side of his father in Langley Marish Church where there is a Brass tablet to each of them. During his life Richard had acquired a considerable fortune in lands and properties, not only in his own County of Bucks but also in Berkshire, Oxfordshire and in Middlesex. He left a widow Alice, who died in 1444, but no children, his heiress being his sister Isabel who had married John Knyffe of Chalvey. At one time Richard Wyot, jointly with Nicholas Clopton, owned the land and advowson of Eton Church, which property they had acquired from Richard Lovell, an ancestor of Sir Thomas Lovell who was a colleague of Henry Wyatt of Kent in the Privy Council of King Henry the Seventh. After Richard's death, this Eton property was handed over to the Provost of Eton.

Thomas Wyot

Thomas Wyot was a cleric and a brother, or a cousin, of Richard. In 1403 he was Parson of Horton, Bucks, and in 1421 he was appointed Rector of Eton, a living which in 1426 he exchanged for that of Dimchurch. Nothing else seems to be known about him.

Although genealogical evidence is lacking that these Wyots of Bucks were akin to their contemporaries, the Wyots of Yorkshire, who were the ancestors of the Wyatts of Kent, there was an heraldic link between the two families of Bucks and Yorks, for they each bore the "horse-barnacle" in their Arms. There are heraldic records which inform us of the blazon of the Arms of Richard Wyot of Bucks and which throw light on the inter-marriage links of the Buckinghamshire Wyots with several well-known families of that and neighbouring Counties. One of these is the heraldic Glass at Hassop Hall in Derbyshire which was originally at Warkworth in Northants, the old home of the Chetwode family. This Glass includes a Shield of sixteen

quarterings with the Arms of the following families—Drury, Freschill, Saxham, Brudenell, At Grove, Raans, Blackett, Bulstrode, Knyffe, Wyot, Barnack, Thorne, Pulteney and Shobington. The Arms of Wyot of Bucks in that Shield are shown as "Per fesse Sable and Argent, a horse-barnacle of the second", whereas (as will be seen later) the early Wyots of Yorkshire bore "Parted per fesse Azure and Gules, a barnacle Argent", as did the Wyatts of Kent. Another ancient family, the Barnacks, are shown in the same Shield as bearing the "barnacle", though theirs was "Argent a barnacle Gules". The second heraldic record is a Shield on an altar tomb in the Church of St. Martin at Palace, Norwich, to the memory of Elizabeth Calthorp, who married (as her third husband) Sir Drue Drury, the warder of Mary, Queen of Scots, during her imprisonment in 1586. This Shield has fourteen quarterings, with the Arms of the same families as that at Warkworth but, in this case, the Arms of the Wyots of Bucks are "Per fesse Azure and Gules, a horse-barnacle closed in pale Argent".

A third record of the Wyatt Arms is to be found on a monument in Faringdon Church, Berkshire, to Sir Alexander Unton (ob. 1546) and to his wives, of whom the second was Cecilia, a daughter of Edward Bulstrode and a descendant of Isabel Knyffe, the sister of Richard Wyot of Bucks. The Unton Shield impales, with the Arms of Unton, (1) those of Wyot of Bucks quartered with Knyffe, and (2) those of Bulstrode. In this Shield the Wyot Arms are shown as "Ermine a horse-barnacle Sable", which resembles those of the Barnack family in the Warkworth Glass.

From the various Visitations and other sources, including Miss Joan Wake's book "The Brundenells of Deene", most of the families whose Arms are shown in these three Shields can be linked into a pedigree of over two hundred years from Richard Wyot down to Sir Drue Drury. The Elizabeth Calthorp (wife of Sir Drue Drury) to whose memory the altar tomb in the Norwich Church was erected, was a grand-daughter of Elizabeth Cheney of Fenn Ditton, who married (1) Frederick Tilney, and (2) Sir John Say. The issue of these two marriages linked Cheneys with the Dukes of Norfolk, the Boleyns, the Waldegraves, the Calthorps, and with the Wyatts of Kent and Essex. These and other families already referred to, such as the Bulstrodes and Brudenells, were almost inextricably mixed up by marriages, but the fact remains that the heraldic records mentioned above do establish, without doubt, that the Wyots of Bucks bore the "barnacle", the ancient Arms of the Wyot family, as did those of Yorkshire, the ancestors of the Wyatts of Kent.

Another Buckinghamshire family who were contemporaries of the Wyots and who were there much longer, were the Delafields, who had settled at Westcote in Waddesdon towards the end of the 14th century. The earliest known of them was William de la ffelde who held 120 acres of land, with a messuage and an orchard, in 1370 at the end of the reign of Edward the Third, and whose descendants held the same property for nearly three centuries. William de la ffelde, who died in 1399, was a lawyer, as was his son Robert, who was an elector for knights of the Shire in 1429 and was one of the chief men of Buckinghamshire who were required to take the oath to ensure peace and good order in the County. Others to take that oath were Sir John Cheyne and Thomas Cheyne, both of Drayton Beauchamp, and John Hampden, an ancestor of the later John Hampden of Civil War days.

William's grandson, Richard Delafield, was Assistant Controller of the Household of King Henry the Sixth, being described as King's Sergeant and Armiger. He was also Escheator for Herts and Essex. Like his father and his grandfather, Richard bore "Sable a cross flory Or" but his descendants, becoming classed as Yeomen (and later as Husbandmen) did not bear the Arms to which they were entitled hereditarily. In the Arrays, they became classified as Men-at-Arms and Archers, instead of Esquires.

In 1524 when Henry the Eighth levied a Subsidy towards the cost of the war against France and Scotland, one of the tax-payers of Buckinghamshire was a William Delafield, a great-great-grandson of the Robert of 1429. A century later, after Parliament had passed the Petition of Rights forbidding the Sovereign to raise money by loan or by taxes without the prior approval of Parliament, King Charles the First made the mistake of flouting Parliament by levying a tax, thinly disguised as Ship Money, on all the Counties, inland as well as maritime. This brought matters to a head, and John Hampden of Bucks flatly refused to pay it. So widely was his example followed that, of the sum of £4,000 demanded from Buckinghamshire, only £8 was collected. When, as a consequence of his attitude, Hampden was impeached, nearly 4,000 Squires and Free-holders of his County rode to London to support him and to protest to the King and Council, among them being Hugh Delafield, a Yeoman of Waddesdon.

Thus the imposition of Ship Money was one of the causes of the Civil War during which John Hampden was killed at the battle of Chalgrove Field in 1642, fighting with the Parliamentary Forces. After the Civil War, the Delafields lost their freehold properties in Waddesdon and elsewhere and consequently they fell in social status, as did so many landed families at one time or another in their histories.

Some Delafields emigrated to America and founded a well-known family there. Others went to London where they did fairly well in trade, while those who remained in Buckinghamshire became mostly craftsmen and artisans, with varying fortunes.

Chapter 13

THE WYATTS OF KENT

THE BEST-KNOWN of the Wyatt families in their day was that of Kent, the spelling of whose name was changed in the course of several generations from Wiot or Wyot to Wiat or Wyat, and then to the present-day form of Wyatt. This family produced successively three men, each remarkable in his way, in the first half of the 16th century, namely, Sir Henry Wyatt, his son Sir Thomas the Elder, and the latter's son, Sir Thomas the Younger. All three possessed courage of no mean order, as well as outstanding intelligence, though they had differing degrees of judgment and of culture. All three suffered for their personal attitudes and loyalties by imprisonment, as young men, in the Tower of London; an experience which for father, son and grandson was rare and possibly unique, even for those days.

Sir Henry Wyatt, of Alington Castle, Kent

The exact year of his birth is unknown, but it was about 1460. He grew to manhood during the twenty-two years of the reign of the Yorkist King Edward the Fourth; his career developed during that of the Tudor, King Henry the Seventh, and reached its peak during the first half of that of Henry the Eighth. He was the second of five sons of Richard and Margaret Wyatt, the eldest John being a priest and the younger sons being William (of Essex), Thomas (of Kent) and Richard, also a priest. Henry had a sister Joan who married a Richard Drax of Yorkshire.

It is doubtful if Henry had a compiled pedigree of any length for, when he applied for a new grant of Arms in January 1507/8, the grant by Wriothesley (Garter) was made on the grounds simply that he "descended of the house blood and name of the Wyatts". At that time, he was already a Privy Councillor to King Henry and, as such, he may not have been called upon by Garter to produce a pedigree, any more than were his acquaintances, Cardinal Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell, when they applied for Armorial Bearings which they had not inherited. The 1530 Kent Visitation makes no reference to Henry Wyatt's forbears, an omission which was somewhat unusual for such a man. In fact, it was not until the Visitation of

1619, some eighty years after his death, that any pedigree of his family was publicly recorded. That pedigree was one which had been compiled in 1578 by Roger Twysden, who had married Anne, a daughter of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Younger, and of his wife, Jane Haute. It was included in the "Twysden Roll" which contained the pedigrees and the Arms of Twysden, Wyatt, Scott (a member of which family had married a sister of Anne Wyatt), as well as the pedigree and Arms of the family of Elizabeth Woodville, the Queen of Edward the Fourth, whose aunt (also named Elizabeth Woodville) had married, about 1430, William Haute, an ancestor of the wife of Thomas Wyatt the Younger. The Hautes of Bishopsbourne and of Wavering Manor in Kent, who were neighbours of the Wyatts of Alington, had been an important local family since the days of Edward the First, they being Sheriffs of the County, on and off, during the 13th, 15th and 16th centuries. When the Haute male line became extinct in 1530, Jane Haute, one of her father's co-heiresses, took Wavering Manor to the Wyatts.

In the Roll of Roger Twysden, who was an ancestor of the present Earl of Romney and of the present Sir William Twysden, the pedigree of Henry Wyatt shows five generations back to an Adam Wyot who lived in about the middle of the 14th century. Those early Wyots were settled near Tickhill in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and in Beighton, south-west of Sheffield but just over the border in Derbyshire. This is borne out by references in the Pipe Rolls, the Assize Rolls and other ancient records of the 14th and 15th centuries. His maternal forbears, the Bayliffes, of whom two generations married Yorkshire Wyots, hailed from Barnesley, north of Sheffield, where they were small squires entitled to bear Arms, as were the Wyots. Henry may have been of the first generation of his family to move south to London to seek his fortune, an enterprise in which he succeeded without any family influence. The earliest records of him, however, are of misfortune, for in 1483 he became involved, as a stout Lancastrian, in the Duke of Buckingham's unsuccessful revolt in the West Counties in favour of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who was then in Brittany awaiting possible developments in his favour as a Pretender to the Throne. As a consequence, Henry Wyatt was imprisoned in the Tower during the two years of the reign of Richard the Third, on whose orders he is said to have been tortured. He was only released after the battle of Bosworth in August 1485, which had resulted in the death of King Richard and of the accession of Richmond as King Henry the Seventh.

It was from that moment that Wyatt's opportunities for a career really commenced. The new King was not only rewarding his

faithful adherents of past days but was looking out for competent and reliable men to take the places of the old baronial families who had wielded so much power under previous régimes. He needed political and military administrators as well as men with a financial flair who could hold posts of trust. Henry Wyatt was soon given a chance to show that he possessed at least some of those qualities. He was out-spoken and tenacious, as well as being ambitious and ruthless in obtaining his ends; in fact a thruster of the hard-headed Norman type. He knew quite well on which side his bread was buttered and he made a point of cultivating the acquaintance of important people who might be useful to him. The first two posts to which he was appointed at the time of the Coronation in October 1485, were, however, more of the nature of rewards for past services and loyalty than any indication, as yet, of the King's foresight or confidence that Wyatt had just the qualities needed. That had yet to be proved. One was a grant for life to "Henry Wyatt, King's Servant" of the office of Keeper of Norwich Castle and Gaol, with wages, fees and profits due to the office of ancient times. A year later he was promoted to be Constable of the Castle. This post gave him considerable influence in Norfolk which, no doubt, he was able to turn to his personal benefit in various ways, as was the custom then. But not only that; it made him, when in Norwich, a close neighbour of Sir Thomas Boleyn, who lived at Blickling Hall in Norfolk where his daughter Anne, a future Queen of Henry the Eighth, was to be born in 1507, four years after the birth of Henry Wyatt's son Thomas. Soon after Anne was born, the Boleyns moved to Hever Hall in Kent. where they were again neighbours of the Wyatts of Alington Castle and it was there, in Kent, that their children, and particularly Anne Boleyn and Thomas Wyatt, became playmates and so started a close friendship which lasted all Anne's life. At her Coronation in 1533 Thomas Wyatt acted for his father Henry, as Chief Ewerer and, in the exercise of that office, he poured scented water on the Queen's hands. At her execution three years later, Queen Anne was accompanied to the scaffold by her faithful friend Anne Wyatt, a sister of Thomas.

Poor Anne Boleyn; good-looking and charming but too ambitious and extravagant. At one time, when very young, she had a romantic love affair with Henry, Lord Percy, the elder son of the Duke of Northumberland, but it was broken off and Percy was compelled to marry another, at a time when Thomas Wyatt's hand was pledged to a marriage which he never desired and which turned out to be very unhappy. Had this situation arisen in the 20th century instead of the 16th, it is possible that Thomas Wyatt would have married

Anne Boleyn and the drama of the scaffold would have been averted, although we should not have had our Queen Elizabeth the First. Incidentally, it is of some interest to know that Anne Boleyn had Cheney blood in her veins, for her mother was a descendant of Laurence Cheney of Fenn Ditton. Also, Anne had a distant and indirect link with the Wyots of Bucks, through the Calthorps, Brudenells and Drurys.

Henry Wyatt's second appointment in 1485 was to be Yeoman Assistant to Sir William Tyler, the Master of the King's Jewels and Plate, a minor post which gave him a footing in Court circles, of which he took full advantage. About two years later he was promoted to be Clerk of the Jewels and, after the death of Tyler in 1490, Wyatt succeeded him as Master. Tyler was a nonentity who was content to be solely a trustee, but Wyatt's personality soon had the effect of developing the importance of the post. Before long he was also appointed Treasurer of the King's Chamber and the two posts combined made him active and influential in financial matters. He remained Master of the Jewels for thirty-four years and, when he resigned in 1524, his son Thomas was appointed Clerk of the Jewels under his father's successor, Robert Amadas, who in time, was succeeded by Thomas Cromwell as Master in 1532. (Some indication of the increased importance which Henry Wyatt brought to the Jewels Office is indicated by the fact that, in the Coronation procession of Henry the Eighth in 1509, there were eight Yeomen Assistants, as compared with two when Wyatt had become one of them in 1485.) He retained the post of Treasurer of the King's Chamber until 1528, being succeeded, after a short interval, by Thomas Cromwell. The holder of that Office was exempt by Act of Parliament from accounting to anyone but the King himself. Nevertheless, when Wyatt resigned he took the unusual precaution of appointing a Commission to prove his books and to obtain for him a discharge. This shows that experience had made him very prudent at the close of his career.

The first few years of the reign of Henry the Seventh had been difficult and turbulent and, although he had sought to consolidate his position as a Lancastrian by marrying Elizabeth of York (the sister of the young King Edward the Fifth), those years were challenging ones for him at home. They were years of Pretenders and of revolts. In 1487 Lambert Simnel had appeared on the scene as impersonating Edward, Earl of Warwick, who in fact was held a prisoner in the Tower of London where King Henry had kept him for the sole reason that, as the eldest son of George, Duke of Clarence, he might become a claimant to the Throne. Simnel and his Yorkist supporters were heavily defeated at the battle of Stoke-on-Trent in

June 1487, in which Henry Wyatt fought for the King. Two years later, Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, a semi-independent ruler in the North, refused to pay the military Subsidy and revolted, but his forces were crushed by the King's army under Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey. In the meantime, a truce had been made with France in 1486 and it lasted for five years. Peace also existed between England and Scotland, except for sporadic Border forays.

In March 1487, just before the Battle of Stoke, Wyatt was appointed to be joint Bailiff and Constable (with John Savile) of Conysborough Castle in Yorkshire, a post which he held until 1536, just before his death, when he was succeeded by his grandson, Thomas, then a mere boy, who held it until he was attainted and beheaded in 1554. This ancient medieval fortress, which had been a fief of the Crown for centuries and which still had a military value of the time of the Wyatts, was situated on the south bank of the Don, about five miles south-west of Doncaster and about the same distance from Tickhill Castle, of which Henry Wyatt also became Keeper and Steward. Tickhill has a very similar history to Conysborough and it had belonged to the Crown long before the days of King Edward the Third. John of Gaunt granted to Catherine Swinford (before he married her in 1390) an annuity out of the receipts of the Honour of Tickhill. Even as late as the Civil War the Castle was garrisoned and defended by the Royalists against the Roundheads, and it was not until the Commonwealth that it was dismantled. It was perhaps rather more than a coincidence which took Henry Wyatt to that district, to posts of observation and strength during the turbulent times in the North and right in the heart of the country of his ancestors in the West Riding of Yorkshire. In fact, he trod the very same ground as they had trodden in the early 14th century. The joint Constable of Conysborough, John Savile, was one of the family which had been, and still were, Keepers of the neighbouring Castle of Sandal, and a later John Savile married Anne Wyatt, a daughter of William Wyatt of Essex (Henry's youngest brother) and he was the Keeper of Sandal in the days of Queen Elizabeth.

In May 1488, Henry Wyatt received another financial appointment. It was that of Clerk of the King's Mint, Money and Change in the Tower of London. Six years later he was promoted to the combined Offices of Keeper of the Change, Assayer of the Money and Coinage, and Comptroller of the Mint in the Tower and elsewhere, with the usual fees and perquisites which had existed from the time of Edward the Third. In due course, he was confirmed in these posts by Henry the Eighth in 1509 and he remained Comptroller until his resignation in 1528, being succeeded by Sir Brian Tuke, a previous

Treasurer of the Royal Household. In these capacities he not only controlled the exchange which had been established throughout the country towards the end of the 12th century for the receipt of bullion, plate and foreign coin, but he was also responsible for the issue of new coin on behalf of the King. Apart from the normal duties of these Offices, he had a large share in the re-organisation of the coinage which took place from 1495, his capacity for financial administration then being established.

He was now an Esquire of the Body, one of a small and select bodyguard who, as individuals, were delegated by the King to render him special services in political and military missions. By 1492 Wyatt had accumulated enough wealth to purchase Alington Castle on the Medway, a stronghold dating from the 13th century, which was in bad repair and hardly habitable. He, and later his son Thomas, spent a good deal of money in repairing the stone exterior and in transforming the interior into a Tudor residence. Alington became the main seat of the Wyatts, Henry and the two Thomases, for some sixty years and under them it had its most glorious days. Henry the Seventh visited Wyatt there and about twenty years later, in 1527, Henry the Eighth met Cardinal Wolsey there, just before the Cardinal's fall from power.

It was in 1492 that King Henry the Seventh paid his first visit to Calais, which had already been an English possession for 150 years and was destined to remain so for another sixty years or so. Under King Edward the Third the Staple of Wool had been located at Calais and a Municipality, composed of a Mayor and twelve Aldermen on the English pattern, had been instituted there. Calais was of the greatest importance to us, both as a stronghold and as a point of embarkation of our forces during the long wars against France. With Calais and Dover we commanded the Straits for six generations and more. Calais came in useful in 1492 for Henry the Seventh's siege of Boulogne, when he was bought off by the King of France who undertook to pay him an annuity.

Early in 1494 Wyatt had been made Governor of the City and Castle of Carlisle. From this key-point he acted with Thomas, Lord Darcy, who was Captain of Berwick, as the King's deputies for the government and good order of the North and for the holding of the Border against the forays of the Scots; replacing the Percies, Earls of Northumberland, who had revolted in 1489. Soon after this appointment, Wyatt was captured by the Scots in one of their raids and was their prisoner for about two years. In 1515 he was granted by the King an additional annuity, his official income "being insufficient for ransoming him from the Scots". Apparently it was after the Anglo-

Scottish Truce of 1497 that he was released against a guarantee for the gradual payment of a ransom.

In 1492 another Pretender had come on the scene. It was Perkin Warbeck who claimed to be young Richard, Duke of York, who, however, had been put to death in the Tower by Richard the Third in 1483. Warbeck got a good deal of support from Yorkists but he stayed in Ireland until 1497 when he landed in Cornwall to support his claim to the Throne, which had been recognised by Maximilian, Emperor of Germany, and by Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, the aunt of Richard the real Duke of York. Warbeck, however, was met and defeated by the King's forces under Giles, Lord Daubeney, and he took sanctuary in Beaulieu Abbey in Hampshire, where he was captured and taken to the Tower. Two years later he tried to bribe his gaolers to allow him and Edward, Earl of Warwick, to escape, for which both were executed. (Giles Daubney's daughter, Cicely, married John Bourchier, the first Earl of Bath, and their grand-daughter Mary Bourchier married Hugh Wyatt of the Devon family, in 1566.)

It's an ill wind that blows nobody any good and Henry Wyatt benefited from the attainter and execution of two men who had supported Perkin Warbeck. One of these was Sir Robert Chamberlayne of Essex, for some of whose properties in Essex and Suffolk a grant in tail male was made in favour of Henry Wyatt, King's Servant and Keeper of the Jewels. The other was Robert White, who forfeited in favour of Wyatt the Manor of Thorp by Billingford in Norfolk. Wyatt was unlikely to be far away from the King's ear when properties reverted to the Crown for any reason. Also, he was a member of a Commission appointed in 1495 to enquire into the lands in Shropshire and in Wales of Sir William Stanley, who had fought for the Yorkists in the Wars of the Roses but, at a critical moment in the battle of Bosworth, had changed sides and had thrown his forces in support of Henry of Richmond, for which service Stanley was duly rewarded by being made a Knight of the Garter and Lord Chamberlain. But, at the end of 1494, he was denounced as a supporter of Perkin Warbeck and was found guilty of treason and was beheaded. Stanley was a Vicar of Bray, but an unsuccessful one.

Meantime, about 1500, Wyatt had married Jane Skinner of Reigate, his only son Thomas being born in 1503. He was on the Commission of the Peace for the Counties of Essex, Surrey and Middlesex from 1502, and (during the reign of Henry the Eighth) for Kent and Sussex also, thus serving as a Justice over a large area of south-east England for some thirty years. The responsibilities of a Justice of the Peace in those days was not limited to judicial duties

at the Sessions. Under the Sheriff and (from about the middle of the 16th century) under the Lord Lieutenant, the Justices undertook much of the administrative work of the County, collecting the taxes and mustering the levies. As the Sheriff's powers tended to become less, late in the 15th century and before the appointment of Lord Lieutenants became general about 1550, the brunt of the executive work of the County fell upon the Justices.

After Henry Wyatt's appointment to the Privy Council in 1504 he became closely associated, both in his official and in his personal relations, with four members of the Council who, during the next few years, gained unenviable notoriety from their financial transactions on the King's behalf, and not without pecuniary benefit to themselves. They were Sir Thomas Lovell, Sir Richard Empson, Edmund Dudley and John, Lord Hussey. They had been given general instructions by the King and special powers by the Privy Council to raise money for the Crown outside the ordinary War Subsidies. This they proceeded to do by various devices, such as the sale of offices and of privileges, the granting of pardons for offences against the law, the imposition of heavy fines (often involving the confiscation of property) on wealthy widows or heiresses who may have married without the Royal licence, and many other forms of extortion of cash and property against which there was no appeal or redress. This was done on such a large scale that it became a public scandal, for it displaced any justice afforded under the Common Law and encroached upon the liberty and the traditional rights of the individual.

Lovell, like Wyatt, had been attainted under King Richard the Third. He had fought for Henry of Richmond at Bosworth and had been rewarded by being nominated Speaker of the House of Commons in 1485 and, two years later, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Empson had been Speaker in 1491 and (jointly with Wyatt) he was an Executor of King Henry the Seventh's will. Dudley, a lawyer, had been Speaker in 1504. Hussey had fought for the King at Stoke in 1487 and had been made Comptroller of the Royal Household. These four men formed a sort of cabal of the Privy Council and Wyatt's signature is found with theirs in connection with several of their questionable operations. An example of this was in 1506 when Lovell, Dudley and Wyatt signed a document imposing a fine of 9,000 marks upon Sir Nicholas Vaux and Sir Thomas Parr for marrying two sisters and co-heiresses named Greene without having obtained the King's consent, a formality which had largely fallen into disuse. Both the victims had been strong supporters of the King and indignation at such treatment on a flimsy pretext was widespread among their peers, who felt that no one's property was any longer safe from that sort of

depredation. Vaux had been knighted for his services at the battle of Stoke and the large estates which had been confiscated from his father under Edward the Fourth had been restored to him by Henry the Seventh. Thomas Parr was an important man who, later, became the father of Catherine Parr, the sixth and last wife of Henry the Eighth. Such a fine on two distinguished and loyal men was at least a blunder, and it was one of the first of many such cases to be redressed by the next King Henry the Eighth who, in 1509, cancelled the unpaid portion of the fine and granted pardons for the marriages.

Although the marriage of Henry the Seventh to Elizabeth of York had united the rival Houses of Lancaster and York after the long and bloody struggle mis-called the Wars of the Roses, yet the existence of legitimist Yorkist claimants to the Throne (as distinct from impostors) was for years a cause of anxiety to King Henry the Seventh. One of them was young Edward, Earl of Warwick, the eldest son of George, Duke of Clarence, who was a brother of King Edward the Fourth. Warwick's mother, Isabel, was a daughter of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, the "King Maker". Henry the Seventh was taking no chances and so he imprisoned young Warwick in 1485 until he was executed with Perkin Warbeck in 1497.

Another claimant, and an active one, was Edmund de la Pole, a son of John Duke of Suffolk and of his wife, Elizabeth of York, who was a sister of King Edward the Fourth. His elder brother, John, was killed at the battle of Stoke in 1487 while fighting for the Pretender Lambert Simnel and, as a consequence, Edmund de la Pole became 3rd Duke of Suffolk. King Henry then made a bargain with him by handing to the new Duke a part of the family properties, which had been confiscated on the attainter of his brother John, against a cash payment to the King of £5,000 and the reduction in Edmund's rank from Duke to Earl of Suffolk.

Suffolk nursed a grievance about this bargain and he went to the Emperor Maximilian (who had supported Perkin Warbeck) to ask for his support in his claim to the English Throne. Maximilian refused any support and Suffolk then found himself virtually a prisoner of Phiilp of Austria (Maximilian's son), who agreed to hand him over to King Henry against a written undertaking that his life should be spared. Sir Henry Wyatt was given the task of fetching Suffolk from France and of conducting him, under an armed guard, to the Tower of London, where he languished until 1513 when Henry the Eighth, who considered that he was under no promise to spare

his life, had Suffolk executed. Such was the value of a written promise by a father in the eyes of his son.

King Henry the Seventh died in April 1509, aged fifty-two, and his young son, Prince Henry, to whom Henry Wyatt had been guardian for some years, succeeded to the Throne as Henry the Eighth.

Chapter 14

SIR HENRY WYATT (*continued*)

HENRY WYATT may have had a few uncomfortable moments when the young King, immediately after his accession, showed that he was disinclined to raise money by irregular and arbitrary means, even although his disinclination was due to a desire for popularity, rather than to any moral scruple. The men who had done so for his father found that they could no longer rely upon royal protection against the widespread demand that they should be brought to trial for their wrong-doings. In fact, Dudley and Empson were arrested, tried and attainted in January 1509/10, and were both executed in the following August. Lovell was not arrested, partly perhaps because he had fought on the right side at the battles of Bosworth and Stoke, but chiefly because his degree of guilt was considered to be less than that of the others. He was prudent enough to retire from public life to the properties which he had acquired either by gift of the late King, or by other means, during his financial activities. John Hussey, who had married a daughter of George Grey, Earl of Kent, and of his wife, Anne, a sister of Queen Elizabeth Woodville, was fortunate enough to obtain from the young King a pardon for his offences. Nevertheless, many years later (in 1526) Hussey was arrested and executed for his failure to carry out orders for the suppression of the Catholic Rising in the North, known as the Pilgrimage of Grace.

Such were the fates which overtook some of Wyatt's associates in the Privy Council of Henry the Seventh but, if he ever had any anxiety about himself, that was soon dispelled for, at the Coronation of the young King in June 1509, Wyatt was created a Knight of the Bath, was appointed to the new Privy Council, and was confirmed in his various posts and Offices, including the Mint. Thus, all was set fair for the second phase of his career under royal auspices, and with the assured confidence of his Sovereign. At the Coronation ceremony, Henry Wyatt, as tenant of the Manor of Ashill (Norfolk) which he had acquired in 1506 from Richard Grey, Earl of Kent, claimed and obtained the right to perform the office of grand sergeantry of the table linen at the forthcoming Royal banquet. This office was not purely

nominal, for it carried with it, as a perquisite, the appropriation of the whole of the linen to his personal use after the banquet.

At this time, Wyatt received additional appointments and favours from his former charge, the King. In 1509, for example, he was commissioned with Sir John Cutts to issue licences to merchants for the export of tin from Cornwall and Devon, as well as for the export of wool on advantageous terms from Norfolk and Kent, two counties with which he was closely associated. The varied nature of his activities is well illustrated by the fact that, soon after being authorised to deal in these commodities, he was one of the signatories for England of the Treaty with Scotland in August 1509, which renewed that of 1501.

In 1510 Wyatt was granted lands in Stanwell and Harmondsworth in Middlesex, to which operation Sir Edward Bulstrode was a party. This was an interesting renewal of a link between Wyatts and Bulstrodes for, sixty years previously, Bulstrode's father, Richard, had married Alice Knyffe, a great-grand-daughter of Isabel, sister of Richard Wyot of Bucks. Consequently, Richard Bulstrode and his son, Edward, were direct descendants of a Wyot. In the church at Upton (Bucks), the home of the Bulstrode family, there is a memorial to this same Edward Bulstrode, showing his own Arms quartered with the "Barnacle" Coat of the early Wyots.

In 1511 Henry Wyatt was granted lands in Northants and Berks which had belonged to his former associate in the Privy Council, Richard Empson, but which had been forfeited to the Crown on Empson's attainter. At the end of that year, Wyatt was commissioned to control all the water-ways and sewers in the district of the Thames and the Lea between London in the south, Stratford at Bow in the north, and Whitechapel in the east.

In February, 1512, Sir Thomas Boleyn was appointed joint Constable with Wyatt of Norwich Castle and Keeper of the Gaol and, a year later, Wyatt retired from the joint post, leaving Boleyn as sole Constable. This arrangement was initiated by the King and was agreed to without demur by Wyatt, who received, by way of compensation, an annuity of £20 from the fees of the Castle and Gaol. The fact that, about the same time, Wyatt received a loan of £300 from the King, and an additional annuity as Keeper of the Jewels, indicated that he continued to enjoy the King's favour. It was rare for the King to make a loan and, when he did, it was definitely refundable. It was different when the King obtained a loan (as was often the case), for it was by no means always refunded in cash, though sometimes it purchased the royal good-will or a favour.

Each of our Tudor Kings Henry was involved in warfare (with truce intervals) against our then traditional enemies, France and Scotland, who were themselves allies; at times war against one of them and at other times against both. Peace with the Scots had been consummated in 1501 by the marriage of Henry the Seventh's daughter Margaret, to James the Fourth of Scotland and that peace lasted for a decade, during which period there was peace with France also. But Henry the Eighth got embroiled in the complex politics, and in the military consequences, arising from the fears and ambitions of the various European rulers who were continually intriguing, disputing, fighting or combining among themselves. At the time of his accession, the chief actors in this diplomatic and military drama were Louis XII (and from 1515 Francis I) of France, Maximilian I (and from 1519 Charles) the Holy Roman Emperor, Ferdinand V of Arragon and of Spain, with Italy, the Papal and the Venetian States playing a defensive role but being entangled in various alliances.

One phase of the European complication originated in 1494 when Charles VIII of France invaded Italy and took Florence, Genoa and Naples. This led to the creation of the Holy League, composed of the Empire, Spain, Venice, the Pope and England, against France, and it brought Spain into southern Italy whence, ultimately, she ejected France by the battles of Ravenna and Novara in 1512. The Roman Empire stretched at one time from the Low Countries on the North Sea, right across Europe embracing Burgundy, the Germanic States and the Tyrol to Italy. The Emperor was virtually the lay ruler of the great part of Europe, as the Pope was the spiritual ruler, but the Reformation (beginning in the latter part of the 15th century) was to gradually turn the unwieldy mass of more or less independent States of the Holy Roman Empire into a more concrete and compact German Empire, to which ultimately the Habsburgs and the Hohenzollerns succeeded after a period of over a thousand years, without counting the previous Emperors who had reigned in Constantinople or, before them, those of Rome itself.

France, in the days of the Tudors, was hemmed in by the Roman Empire in the north and east, and by Spain in the south, with England established in her stronghold of Calais, a continuous menace. France was always trying to get free from this encirclement, whereas her neighbours were equally determined, offensively and defensively, to consolidate their own strategic position and power. This was, roughly and shortly, the European situation as Henry the Eighth found it and with which, later on, Wolsey's fertile and Machiavellian brain tried to deal, though with varying success.

In 1512 England declared war against France and Scotland and, in October of that year, our army sailed to Calais, Henry Wyatt sailing in the ship "Martinet". The King followed in the following May and was joined at Calais by the Emperor Maximilian and his troops. Wyatt fought in the vanguard of our army at the Battle of the Spurs and at the capture of Tournai. For his services in the field, he was made a Knight Banneret, the most distinguished military order, and the King presented him with a golden goblet. A month after the "Spurs", the Scots army under James the Fourth was heavily beaten at the Battle of Flodden by Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, King James being killed. This was the last great victory of the long-bow which had served English archers so well and for so long.

In October 1514, to seal the peace just made with France, Mary Tudor, the King's sister, was married to King Louis the Twelfth who, however, died in the following January. A few months after the death of Louis, the young widowed Queen Mary of France married Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and they were to become the grand-parents of the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey. King Henry was furious at this precipitous marriage, made without his permission, and he was only partly appeased by Mary's surrender to him of all the jewels and plate, etc., which she had received as her dowry for her previous marriage. It fell to Henry Wyatt, as Keeper of the Jewels, to submit to the Parties a list of the jewels, etc., to be returned. This recovery of a dowry by King Henry may be compared with his refusal to refund to King Ferdinand of Spain the first instalment (100,000 escudos) of the dowry which Catherine of Arragon had brought to England in 1500 for her marriage to Prince Arthur and which dowry had reverted to King Henry on his marriage in 1509 to his brother's widow. Moreover, Henry demanded of his father-in-law, Ferdinand, the second instalment of a like amount and, what is more, he succeeded in getting it, for Ferdinand was anxious to conclude with England the Treaty of 1510 which led to the League between Henry, Ferdinand, the Pope and the Venetian States against France. This attitude of King Henry in the matter of the two dowries was typical of his complete lack of any scruple in affairs of finance, of foreign politics, of international agreements, or in his marriages; in fact, in any moral question.

At the end of 1513 the English army which had fought in France was brought home, paid off and dismissed, including "Sir Henry Wyatt, one of the Captains". By 1515 he had been promoted to be a knight of the Body and, in that year, was commissioned with others to enquire into the ordnance of Calais and of the Tower of London and of all vessels within the precincts. In 1518 he obtained a licence for

himself and his heirs to have free warren in his domains, lands and manors in Kent, with the right to fine or punish anyone entering them without permission, or anyone taking away deer or pheasants. In the following year he and two others were commissioned to search for suspected persons in the districts of Holborn, Kentish Town, St. Giles, and Paddington, which was quite a large part of the then London, on the orders of Wolsey, who from 1515 was a Cardinal and Lord Chancellor.

It was about this time that affairs in Europe again dominated the scene. There had been three changes of European rulers during the past few years. Francis the First had succeeded Louis the Twelfth in France, Charles had succeeded Ferdinand as King of Spain and, (on the death of Maximilian) Charles had been elected in 1519 Holy Roman Emperor. All this involved new contacts and tended to bring about a fresh alignment of the nations. In May 1520, the new Emperor Charles visited Henry at Canterbury and London and had paved the way for a secret Treaty in July between them and the Pope against Francis the First, who was at war with Italy and, indirectly, with Spain. Between the visit of Charles and the signing of the secret Treaty there was held, in June 1520, the meeting near Guisnes and Calais known as the Field of the Cloth of Gold between King Henry and King Francis; a political meeting between Sovereigns never outdone before or since, either in magnificence or in insincerity on each side. The two monarchs were rivals pretending to be friends but failing to disguise their real feelings of distrust for one another. It was a heartless display of regal splendour. But, with all that background of make-believe, no pains were spared to make the occasion the most lavish of its kind. The retinue of King Henry and his Queen was composed of no less than 5,800 nobles, bishops, knights, esquires and ladies, with their attendants and grooms, etc., including 200 Yeomen of the Guard. They took with them over 3,000 horses. Wolsey alone had a retinue of 300 knights, chaplains and servants, with 150 horses, and every noble, bishop, knight, esquire, etc., had so many retainers and horses allotted to him, according to his rank. Sir Henry Wyatt was there in two capacities, as Knight Marshal and as Master of the King's Jewels, which he had transported from London with guards and grooms. This huge convoy, collected from all parts of England and concentrated at the Channel ports, carried all the food and wine required by everyone for a month, as well as fodder for the horses, and arms and armour for the feats of Arms which

were a part of the programme at Guisnes. It was a wonderful example of organisation in days when there were no modern means of communication or transport and when, once at the ports, everybody and everything had to be shipped to Calais in little vessels of anything from 80 to 500 tons for the cross-Channel passage, the time for which depended upon wind and tide. When, six years earlier, Mary Tudor had sailed from Dover to marry King Louis, fourteen small vessels carried her attendants, wardrobe and treasure and, even in that short crossing, they ran into a storm in which ships were wrecked and several hundred persons were drowned, Mary herself being rescued from the water near Boulogne. In her entourage was little Anne Boleyn, then only seven years old, who was travelling with her parents.

Another person who was in attendance on the King at the Field of the Cloth of Gold was Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, whose mother was a sister of Queen Elizabeth Woodville. Unfortunately for him, Buckingham disliked Wolsey and did not hide it. Consequently, in 1521, a charge was brought against Buckingham that, in 1510, he had intended to exhalt himself to the Throne. For this, he was indicted and then executed, Henry Wyatt being a member of the jury which convicted him. Buckingham's father, the second Duke, had revolted against Richard the Third in 1483 but had escaped to Brittany to join Henry Tudor. It was that revolt which had been the cause of Henry Wyatt's imprisonment in the Tower. His association with the conviction of Edward Stafford was a strange turn in the wheel of fortune.

In May 1522, the Emperor Charles paid another visit to King Henry and, as an almost natural consequence, England declared war on France, whose allies, the Scots, promptly declared war against us. This meant, of course, more loans and subsidies, the financial handling of which was largely in the hands of the Treasurer of the King's Chamber, Sir Henry Wyatt, who sent £20,000 to our army on the Scots border commanded by the Earl of Surrey (now Duke of Norfolk) and forwarded sums of money to our allies who were fighting France in Italy. Throughout 1523 and 1524 Wyatt was not only disbursing large sums for the conduct of the wars on two fronts but, also, he was on the Commission for the collection of the Subsidies in the Counties of Surrey and Kent, of which latter he was also Sheriff. Apart from the ordinary County machinery for the collection of funds, the King personally put pressure upon certain important personages for contributions. He wrote, for example, to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to the Bishop of London pressing for a clerical subsidy on the grounds that "the army under the Duke of

Bourbon has entered France". In 1525 the total cash received by Wyatt from the Collectors of the Subsidy was no less than £260,000, a large sum in those days. It was not until August, 1525, that Peace was made with France, to be followed a few months later by Peace with Scotland.

Evidently the King found it necessary to delegate some of his powers and functions, for in January 1526, he nominated certain members of the Privy Council, comprising Wolsey, the Bishop of London, Henry Wyatt and some officers of the Household to hear complaints of the King's subjects which were made to the King at his passing from place to place. Wyatt was also among those to whom were assigned lodgings in the Royal Palace. It was customary for the King to make New Year's gifts to persons in the royal circle and Henry Wyatt was usually in the list. In January, 1527, for example, Cardinal Wolsey had the largest gift of 40 ounces of gold plate, various Bishops received from 20 to 30 ounces, Henry Wyatt about 20 ounces, and so on down the list. Another year, Wyatt received cash in a red leather purse.

It was in 1527 that the King visited Alington Castle, where he was joined by Wolsey, then at the height of his power. Two years later, Wolsey was deprived of the Chancellorship. The man who for fifteen years had exercised such a preponderating influence in home and in foreign affairs; who lived like a prince with a retinue of 400 persons, spent the last year of his life in disgrace. He was indicted in the Praemunire and was subjected to the indignity of a Commission of Enquiry set up to establish the sources of his wealth and to prepare a list of his goods and properties, all of which the King took unto himself. His fall and disgrace virtually killed Wolsey, who died in 1530. He was succeeded by Sir Thomis More as Chancellor and by Sir Thomas Boleyn as Keeper of the Privy Seal, both of whom lost their posts, though for very different reasons, as a consequence of Anne Boleyn's marriage to the King in January, 1533. Thomas More resigned with dignity in 1532, whereas Boleyn was deprived of his posts when his daughter was arrested and beheaded in 1536. The two men, More and Boleyn, were very different in character, the former being an honest man who became a martyr for a principle, and the latter being a "Yes-man" who was easily bought by a post or a title. In 1534, the year after the birth of Anne Boleyn's daughter, Elizabeth (afterwards Queen) Sir Thomas Boleyn was allotted by the King the unpleasant task of trying to induce young Princess Mary (Catherine of Arragon's daughter) to renounce her title and to declare herself illegitimate. This was just after King Henry's marriage to Catherine had been dissolved by an Act of Parliament and when Mary was about

nineteen years old. This obvious attempt to give Queen Anne Boleyn's daughter, Elizabeth, priority over her elder half-sister, Mary, in the order of succession to the Throne, failed ignominiously.

The disappearance of Wolsey from the scene paved the way for the rise of Thomas Cromwell, who had been employed by Wolsey in the suppression of the smaller Monasteries in 1524. In addition, Cromwell had made himself useful in financial matters for the King's benefit, as for example when he raised a large sum from the many men who refused knighthood at the Coronation of Queen Anne Boleyn. He succeeded Henry Wyatt as Master of the Jewels in 1532 and succeeded Thomas Boleyn as Keeper of the Privy Seal in 1536, but his success was short-lived, for in 1540 Cromwell was arrested and found guilty of receiving bribes on a large scale and was executed in that year, just after being created Earl of Essex. John Stow, in his "Survey of London", relates that Cromwell, who had built for himself a large house in Throgmorton Street, wished to enlarge his garden, for which purpose he encroached upon the lands of his neighbours, one of whom was Stow's father, whose house was razed to the ground and half of whose garden plus the house-site was stolen by Cromwell. So, says Stow, "no man durst go to argue the matter, but each man lost his land". The same sort of thing had happened to Richard Wyot of Bucks 140 years earlier when his house had been razed and a part of his garden in Westminster had been taken by King Henry the Fourth; the difference being that Wyot was in a position to claim, and to obtain, recompense from the King, whereas poor Stow, a tailor, dare not do so from the all-powerful Cromwell. From old records one gets glimpses of the power which was in the hands of men like Wolsey and Cromwell and no doubt these glimpses are merely indications of what took place on a large scale, limited only by opportunity. For example, in 1528, a year before Wolsey fell from grace and when it became known that Henry Wyatt intended to resign as Treasurer of the King's Chamber, someone wrote to Wolsey applying for the vacancy, or for another post of a financial nature, and as an inducement to Wolsey offered to contribute 500 marks to the latter's College at Oxford (Christ Church) and also to make a gift of £100 to the King. It so happened that the applicant was too late, for the Treasurership had already been promised to Sir Brian Tuke.

As to Cromwell, he received a letter in 1532 asking him to use his influence to obtain for the petitioner a grant of land and a parsonage in Kent, in which case "you shall have what you please for yourself or for your son Gregory". Autres temps, autres moeurs.

In 1524, when the lesser Monasteries were being suppressed, Wyatt obtained a grant of lands and tenements in Essex and of an old

chapel and land in Milton, near Gravesend in Kent, all of which had belonged to a small monastery. He also obtained from the King a licence to found at Milton a Chantry, to be known as the "Henry Wyatt Chantry", to which he could appoint two chaplains who would hold the properties (valued at £20 per annum) in permanence. Thus he showed himself a good churchman who, while not wholly approving the policy of the Dissolution, succeeded in restoring in another form one of the smaller Monasteries and, in so doing, he ensured that after his death masses would be said for his soul and for the souls of his ancestors.

In 1526 an incident occurred which, while in no way reflecting upon the reputation of Henry Wyatt or upon any action by him, illustrated the power which was in the hands of men who held important positions in the State. A brewer of London, in a fit of jealousy or anger, stabbed his wife, who was with child, and she died from her wounds a few weeks later. While the inquest was being held to establish the facts, the brewer took sanctuary at Westminster in the Church. As he had influential friends however including Sir Henry Wyatt, no jury would convict him and he was able to leave sanctuary without arrest and to all intents and purposes a free man.

In 1528 Wyatt resigned the onerous post of Treasurer of the King's Chamber and, shortly afterwards, his posts at the Royal Mint, although it was not until 1535 (when Queen Anne Boleyn's marital troubles put the Wyatt family temporarily under a cloud at Court) that he took the precaution of obtaining a royal release and pardon in respect of any sums of money which may have been unduly paid by him as Treasurer, either by the order of the King or by that of Cardinal Wolsey, as well as a discharge for any payments at the Mint in coined gold which may have been contrary to statute.

The last few years of Henry Wyatt's life were saddened and embarrassed by the fall of Anne Boleyn who had been, since childhood, a close friend of the Wyatt family. In 1524 the King was already attracted by Anne's beauty and vivacity and in the following year her father Sir Thomas Boleyn was created Viscount Rochford and, two years later, Earl of Wiltshire. By 1527 it was generally known that the King contemplated divorcing Queen Catherine, who had a rough deal ever since she arrived in England in 1500 to marry Prince Arthur. Anne Boleyn was an ambitious woman whose aspirations brought about a tragic end to her life, and to that of her brother, and which aspirations were also a factor in the fall of Wolsey and in the unjust execution of his successor as Chancellor, Sir Thomas More. In 1533 Anne had been made Marchioness of Pembroke in her own right, with an annuity of £1,000 for life. The King married her

secretly in January 1533, four months before his marriage with Catherine of Arragon had been declared null and void by the Archbishop's Court and fifteen months before that marriage was "utterly dissolved" by a special Act passed by an obedient Parliament. At Anne's Coronation in June 1533 her intimate friend Sir Thomas Wyatt acted for his father as Chief Ewerer and exercised the office of pouring scented water on the Queen's hands at the ceremony. Little did anyone then foresee the tragic developments of the next few years.

Anne Boleyn's daughter, afterwards Queen Elizabeth, was born in the following September 1533, which explained the hurried, secret marriage of the previous January. Before the birth, a Cleric who was at the time "dwelling with Sir Henry Wyatt" wrote to the Queen telling her that " a Messenger of Christ came to me and commanded me to take a message to you, but I did not believe him. Later, he came again, in angel form, and I promised to take the message, which was that you should have been Queen of England ten years ago and that you are with child which will be a woman-child and a Prince of the land, and that your Grace will be delivered at Greenwich. The Messenger commanded me to tell you this, or else his Master, Christ, would strike." This was a somewhat ingratiating letter which would have given but cold comfort to Queen Anne and none whatever to the King. Later, in January 1536, Anne had a still-born son, but by that time the King was already tired of her and was in love with Jane Seymour.

Anne had reached the summit of her ambition, but her regal glory was short-lived. On the 2nd May 1536 she was committed to the Tower on a trumped-up charge of high treason and, with her brother, was found guilty. She was beheaded on the 19th May, being attended on the scaffold by her faithful friend, Mary Wyatt, (a sister of Thomas), and behaving with much composure and dignity. Within a fortnight the King had married Jane Seymour.

When Anne was sent to the Tower, so was Thomas Wyatt, in case he might be required as a witness against her during her trial. Old Henry Wyatt wrote to Thomas Cromwell on the 11th May thanking him for his assurance that his son Thomas' life would be spared, asking when he might be freed, and requesting Cromwell to admonish Thomas to fly vice and to serve God better. A month later, after Thomas had been released, Henry wrote again to Cromwell expressing his gratitude to the King and to Cromwell himself and adding that he had charged his son to follow Cromwell's commands and to look upon him as a father. Henry begged Cromwell to act paternally towards Thomas, who would not fail him. He also wrote to the King thanking him that he had not chastised his son extremely, regretting that his

own bodily ailments prevented him from continued activity in the royal service, and adding that he would rather see Thomas perish before his eyes than that he should fail in truth and in loyalty to the King. Thomas Wyatt was not only freed, but was pardoned, and his imprisonment had no ill effect upon his subsequent career.

At the end of the following year, in November 1536, Henry Wyatt died at Alington Castle, desiring to be buried in the Church at Milton, Gravesend, "near unto my wife Anne." He was nearing eighty, a ripe old age for those days, and had lived a full and strenuous life, fighting his own way to success and taking and giving hard knocks on the way. He had served two kings loyally and ably and his standard of behaviour and of integrity had been high for his times.

He left directions in his Will that his Chantry at Milton was to stand and abide according to its foundation statutes and holding the lands in Kent and Essex which he had conveyed to it. His son Thomas and Thomas Cromwell were executors and, subject to gifts to servants, his son was his residuary legatee. Whatever may be thought of Thomas Cromwell and the blot on his financial morality which ultimately brought about his trial and execution, there is no doubt that he was a loyal friend to Henry Wyatt and his son. When Cromwell was taken to the scaffold in the Tower, he knelt and prayed aloud. When he had finished his prayers, he turned to Thomas Wyatt (the Elder), who as a loyal friend was by his side, and said to him "Farewell Wyatt" and "gentle Wyatt pray for me."

About a year after his father's death, Thomas Wyatt, then Ambassador to Spain, wrote to his son Thomas the Younger, who had been married at the early age of just seventeen, a letter in which he paid the following fine tribute to his father Henry: "Those who knew your Grandfather noted in him a great reverence of God and that none was more pitiful, more true of his word, faster to his friend, more diligent and circumspect, as both Kings his Masters noted. The Grace of God preserved him in prison from the hands of the tyrant (Richard the Third) that could find in his heart to see him racked; from two years imprisonment in Scotland in irons and stocks; from the dangers of sudden changes and commotions until, beloved of many and hated of none, in his fair age and good reputation he went to Him that loved him."

Henry Wyatt, in his success, did not forget his brothers, all of whom benefited in one way or another by his help and influence. Within six months of his appointment in 1486 to be Constable of

Norwich Castle, a post which gave him considerable authority in Norfolk, he was able to present his eldest brother John, who was Master of a College for Chaplains in Nottinghamshire, to the Living of Feltwell in Norfolk, to be followed soon after by the Livings of Cressingham and Cley-by-the-Sea in the same County. John Wyatt's Will of 1525, of which Henry was an executor, indicates that he was very comfortably off, for he was able to leave substantial legacies to several Churches in his district.

Another brother Richard, a priest like John, took his degree and was ordained at Christ's College, Cambridge in 1494 and in the same year he was presented to the Living of Hardingham in Norfolk by two friends of Henry Wyatt, Sir Henry Heydon (who had married an aunt of Sir Thomas Boleyn) and Sir Thomas Lovell. In the following year, Richard Wyatt was presented to the additional Living of Romney in Kent and, a year later, to those of Wisbech in Cambridgeshire and Bishop's Wearmouth in Durham, and so he became a pluralist while quite young. After being Senior Proctor at Cambridge in 1501, he was Master of his College and subsequently a Prebendary of Lichfield and a Precentor of York Cathedral. Richard Wyatt died in 1522, while still middle-aged, and it is of interest to note that not only did he, as priest, bear Arms but that he bore the ancient Wyot Coat "Per fesse Azure and Gules a barnacle Argent."

Henry's youngest brother William Wyatt settled in Essex and is referred to in Chapter 7.

Chapter 15

SIR THOMAS WYATT THE ELDER

THIS ONLY son of Henry Wyatt was born at Alington about 1503. He matriculated at St. John's College, Cambridge in 1515, when only twelve years old and graduated B.A. three years later. In 1520, when barely seventeen, he was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Brooke, Lord Cobham, a marriage arranged by their parents who were neighbours in Kent and one which was destined to be unhappy; involving a separation soon after the birth of their son Thomas. Despite every effort to bring the couple together again, they remained apart. Seventeen years after their marriage George, Lord Cobham (Elizabeth's brother) wrote to Thomas Cromwell complaining that Thomas Wyatt still refused to make any financial provision for his wife. Whether the failure of this marriage was due to incompatability of temperaments or to Thomas' undoubted affection for Anne Boleyn, or to both causes, is immaterial, but it was complete and even bitter.

Thomas was anything but an easy person to deal with, or to get on with; much less so than his father. He was precocious in the better sense of the word, not only as a boy at Cambridge but all through his short life which ended before he was forty. He was highly intelligent and cultured, witty, fearless of speech to the point of indiscretion, and full of courage and self-confidence. On the other hand, he was impulsive and unsteady and, as we should say today, rather spoilt by his admiring father and friends.

He received his first Court appointment as a Sewer Extraordinary in the Royal Household of Henry the Eighth in 1516, when thirteen years old, and five years later he was made an Esquire of the Body, a post which his father had held for many years. In 1524 he was appointed Clerk of the Jewel Office, which was at the time when his father relinquished the senior post of Master in favour of Thomas Cromwell. In the next year he distinguished himself at a Court Tournament, which showed that, with all his studious tendencies, he was a fine horseman and lacked none of his father's physical prowess.

A few months later, in 1526, he had his first experience in the world of diplomacy, being attached for two months to a Mission to the French Court under Sir Thomas Cheney, a successful soldier and

diplomat and a nephew of the Sir John Cheney who won fame at Bosworth in a hand-to-hand fight with King Richard the Third, by whom he was unhorsed. Early in 1527 Wyatt was attached to the staff of Sir John Russell (afterwards Earl of Bedford) the Ambassador to the Court of Pope Clement. This gave him an opportunity to visit Rome, Venice, Ferrara, Bologna and Florence and to study Italian literature, a study which, later on, influenced his writing of English sonnets of which he was a pioneer. While in Rome, Russell had the misfortune to break a leg and this gave young Wyatt the chance of acting as his deputy in the conduct of negotiations with the Venetian States and in a manner which gave satisfaction to Wolsey. On his way back to Rome, however, Wyatt was captured near Bologna by the Emperor's forces under the Duke of Bourbon. Thanks largely to the help of the Duke of Ferrara he escaped and without the payment of the ransom of 3,000 ducats demanded for his release. Wyatt was quick to benefit from the experience of serving under two such diplomats as Cheney and Russell, each of whom reported on him as being a young man of good and discreet behaviour. In 1528 Cheney got into hot water with Wolsey for quarrelling with Russell, but Anne Boleyn (whose aunt had married a Cheney) intervened and got Cheney restored to Wolsey's favour. As to Russell, fate ordained that, many years later in 1554, he was to take an active part in the suppression of the revolt which Thomas Wyatt the Younger organised in Kent as a protest against the marriage of Queen Mary to Philip of Spain.

When Wyatt embarked upon his diplomatic career, he was a young man of about twenty-three. The situation in Europe was very confused and, with Wolsey's influence already beginning to fade, King Henry's foreign policy was about to undergo a drastic change. Just after the Field of the Cloth of Gold, King Francis of France had declared war on the Emperor Charles, who had allied himself with the Pope. The French captured Navarre from the Spaniards but were driven back from Milan. This created a situation which suited Wolsey admirably, for he hoped for benefits for England and possibly even for the recovery of Normandy and Guienne while the French were kept busy elsewhere. Consequently in March 1522 Henry had declared war against France, although, except for the landing of a force under Surrey at Cherbourg and the sacking of Morlaix, little was done to aid Charles who, meantime, had entered Milan. In the following year, Russell had been sent secretly to France to see the Duke of Bourbon, the most important and powerful man in France, and had arranged for Bourbon to desert to Charles, for which he was paid a large sum in cash as an inducement. At the same time, Henry joined Charles, with Ferdinand of Spain (Queen Catherine's father),

the Pope and the Venetian States in a League against France. Suffolk led an army to Calais and advanced on Paris, but withdrew when only thirty miles away; a useless effort. Meantime Wolsey was busy trying to bribe the Cardinal's College to elect him Pope, but failed. In 1524 things were going badly for Wolsey's policy. Francis had recovered Milan but then he was defeated and captured at the battle of Pavia by Bourbon. This sudden reversal of fortunes gave Wolsey another heaven-sent opportunity, for Francis was a prisoner and his enemy Charles was without funds for his campaign. In his financial predicament, Charles promptly married Isabella of Portugal for her dowry of a million ducats and so he was able to pay his troops and to hold Italy. This Portuguese marriage, by which Charles had broken his promise to marry King Henry's daughter Princess Mary, put an end to any further pretence of friendship between Henry and Charles and it brought about a complete reversal of policy by Henry and Wolsey. They now decided to make peace with France and this was done in August 1525, France paying Henry an indemnity of two million crowns and one hundred thousand to Wolsey, a handsome gift.

A few months later, in 1526, King Henry was thinking of divorcing Queen Catherine and was inclined to marry Margaret sister of Francis of France. Poor Catherine of Arragon. Her two marriages had been arranged for her for political reasons and now her divorce was contemplated for a like one. She had been but a pawn in the game, like so many royal girls, as was Mary (Henry's sister) who was now booked to marry the Duke of Orleans. This was roughly the background of the new English policy when young Thomas Wyatt joined Russell at the Papal Court early in 1527. In May, Rome was sacked by the Emperor's troops and the Duke of Bourbon killed. The Pope fled, but then surrendered.

Early in 1528 King Henry had given up the idea of marrying the French Princess, but he still wished to divorce Catherine. This was in order to marry Anne Boleyn, and so Wolsey was given the task of obtaining, by fair means or foul, the divorce. In his difficulty, the ever-resourceful Wolsey, after conferring with Archbishop Warham, found a formula which he thought might serve the purpose. It was that, for eighteen years past, Henry had been living in sin with the widow of his brother Arthur and that consequently their marriage was invalid. This, however, involved an appeal to the Pope who was by no means complaisant; an attitude which made the King furious with Pope Clement and also with Wolsey. Then the adaptable Cranmer came on the scene and recommended the King to get away from Rome. This policy was carried further by Thomas Cromwell

who, with the King's approval, commenced to dispossess the Church in England of power by confiscating its riches and lands for the benefit of the King and his nominees. Cromwell's object was to cut the traditional ties which bound the Anglican Church to Rome and, by making the King the Supreme Head of the Church, to dispense with the authority of the Pope and so to pave the way for Catherine to be divorced and for Anne Boleyn to become Queen. Thus were high matters of State employed lightly to satisfy the idiosyncrasy of a Sovereign. That honest man, Sir Thomas More, could not swallow this and so in 1531 he resigned the Great Seal and three years later he was executed for his coùrage and his conscience.

In January 1528 Francis and Henry had declared war against the Emperor Charles but, six months later when Francis was defeated in Italy, Henry made an armistice with the Emperor.

It may have been just as well for Thomas Wyatt that he was not involved in diplomacy during the few years immediately after 1528 when Anne Boleyn was in favour of the King, who was trying to rid himself of his lawful Queen to marry Anne. Fortunately in June 1529, Wyatt was nominated High Marshal of Calais and remained there until the end of 1530 when he resigned that post and also that of Clerk of the Jewels Office to which he had been able to give but little attention. The office of High Marshal of Calais carried pay at the rate of two shillings a day plus twenty marks a year, but there were allowances and perquisites. Even the pay of our Ambassadors was not high and besides it was often in arrear. John Hackett, Ambassador to the Court of Lady Margaret, complained to Wolsey that he could not support his office on £100 a year, and when it was doubled he wrote to Wolsey rather ruefully that he had grown more white hairs in his head than nobles in his purse.

It was during Wyatt's absence in Calais that Thomas Boleyn, the obsequious Treasurer of the Household, was significantly created Earl of Wiltshire and was sent to try to persuade the Emperor Charles to support the application to the Pope for the divorce of Queen Catherine, but without success. Wolsey had died and the King had lost no time in impounding his late Chancellor's cash and his residence in York Place on which Anne Boleyn had set her heart. Thomas Cromwell, although not yet Chancellor, was in power, and his anti-Church and anti-Rome policy was already operating.

The next few years were destined to develop in an unpleasant and difficult way for Thomas Wyatt and his family, who were so closely linked in friendship with the Boleyns. Loyalties were to be severely tested. Cromwell became Chancellor and Thomas Wyatt was nominated a member of the Privy Council. The shadow of the

divorce proceedings still hung over Henry and his Queen Catherine, for the Pope remained adamant and it seemed impossible to untie them. Finally in January 1533 the Gordian knot was cut by the King marrying Anne secretly and without being divorced. In face of this accomplished fact King Francis, on Henry's behalf, appealed to the Pope to recognise the marriage, and Gardner, with Bonner, was sent to the Pope with the same object, but in vain. Then, when all else had failed, Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, declared that Henry's marriage to Catherine was void and he pronounced the divorce, a decision which (incidentally) implied that Princess Mary was illegitimate. Henceforward, events moved fast. On New Year's Day 1536 Queen Catherine died in her loneliness. That was the year of the scaffold for Queen Anne and for pardon for Thomas Wyatt who, in the October of that year, was given an active command of troops sent to suppress the Catholic revolt in Lincolnshire known as the Pilgrimage of Grace which was led by Robert Aske to protest against the policy of the King and Cromwell towards the Church. The movement was brutally, but not easily, put down; Aske and many others being executed on the spot.

In 1537 Thomas Wyatt was made a Knight Bachelor and was nominated by the King to be Sheriff of Kent, another post in which he followed his father.

At that moment, the situation in foreign politics was that King Henry was trying to persuade both Francis of France and the Emperor Charles to look to England, rather than to Rome, as an ally. They were then at war with each other, but Henry's fear was that they might compose their differences and ally themselves with the Pope against England. This was the outlook when in April 1537 Sir Thomas Wyatt was sent as Ambassador to the Emperor to negotiate for the resumption of friendly relations between him and Henry, but directed against the Pope. In that capacity Wyatt was abroad, mostly in Spain, for about two years, but his mission met with only partial success.

In October 1537 Queen Jane Seymour gave birth to a son, afterwards King Edward the Sixth, but at the cost of her own life. Cromwell requested Wyatt to inform the Emperor of the birth of a goodly Prince to the Queen.

At that time, there was evidence that Thomas Wyatt's finances were not in good order. Sir Bryan Tuke, who had succeeded Henry Wyatt as Treasurer of the King's Chamber, wrote informing Cromwell that Wyatt was in debt to the King and had refused to settle it before he left England. On this, Cromwell, instead of telling Tuke to stop any further payments of salary to Wyatt for the time being, wrote

himself to Wyatt in a friendly way saying that his salary would be paid six months in advance, but reproaching and warning him to put his affairs in order. Wyatt's friend Thomas Wriothesley, a rising young statesman who had married a Cheyne and who was to become Lord Chancellor and was then working for Cromwell as Clerk to the Signet, wrote to Wyatt to say that he was trying to get an increased allowance for him and hoped to do so in time. Shortly afterwards, old Sir Henry Wyatt died and Thomas inherited his father's vast estates, though his own debts and his extravagant expenditure, both personally and as an Ambassador, were an embarrasing feature during the rest of his life.

In the Spring of 1538, Edmund Bonner who had been employed occasionally on missions by Wolsey and Cromwell and who afterwards became Bishop of London, was sent to Thomas Wyatt in Spain to endeavour to correct or modify Wyatt's policy or attitude in some way but, perhaps owing to tactlessness by Bonner and probably owing to some touchy resentment on the part of Wyatt, all that occurred was acute friction between them. On his return to England, Bonner complained bitterly of Wyatt to Cromwell, who ignored the complaint; knowing of Wyatt's impetuous temperament and also that he was *persona grata* with the Emperor. In April 1539 Wyatt was recalled and in December he was sent on another Mission to the Emperor who was then in Flanders and Paris, but once more he (Wyatt) failed to improve royal relations. Cromwell then suggested to the King a marriage with Anne of Cleves as a good political move and, as Henry was afraid of the Catholics at home and as Anne of Cleves was a German (neither French nor Spanish), he agreed; on the strength of a somewhat flattering portrait of Anne by Holbein. Anne duly came to London and Henry, though disillusioned as to her looks, married her. But, with the aid of the Bishops and of Parliament, he soon divorced her, granting her the Manor of Bradwell on Sea in Essex for her life in retirement. This was the Manor which had been granted to William Wyatt (Henry Wyatt's brother) until his death in 1532.

By the Summer of 1540 it was obvious that Cromwell's policies at home and abroad had failed and that he had lost the King's confidence. Not only that; he was arrested and sent to the Tower on two charges, one that he had misinterpreted the King's views as to the settlement of the question of religion and the Church and, two, that he had been taking bribes. The King had by then plenty of experience in finding reasons for getting rid of his advisers, once their policy had failed to please him. So Cromwell was executed, and the King secured his wealth, as he had previously seized Wolsey's.

At the end of 1540, directly after the execution of Cromwell,

Bonner (then Bishop of London) and Simon Heynes (Dean of Exeter) renewed their attacks on Thomas Wyatt, who they charged with disrespectful references to the King when Ambassador in Spain; with having been in relations abroad with "the traitor" Cardinal Reginald de la Pole; with living a wild and extravagant life and, in fact, with improper and even treasonable acts. So serious were these charges on the face of them and so persistently were they pressed that, in January 1541, Wyatt was arrested and was taken bound and manacled to the Tower, a most unusual procedure for a man of his station. On the orders of the Privy Council, his house at Alington was seized and his plate, armour, horses and other valuables were taken away for the King. Meanwhile, for two months Wyatt remained a prisoner, although so far no definite charge had been formulated. The situation looked extremely serious for him. His supporter Cromwell was dead and, although other friends like Wriothesley were in the Privy Council, they neither dared nor could do anything for him. Fortunately help came and from an unexpected quarter. It came from Henry's new Queen Catherine Howard, whose mother was a Culpepper, a family who were friends and neighbours of the Wyatts in Kent. She interceded with the King, who pardoned Wyatt on conditions that he confessed his guilt and that he took back his wife Elizabeth, two entirely unrelated conditions. It seems that Wyatt did both, albeit half-heartedly, and so again he escaped the block. Once more, he was restored to favour.

Catherine Howard's short reign was soon over for, a year after she had saved Wyatt, Cranmer produced evidence to the King that she had a lover in her cousin Thomas Culpepper, and she confessed it at her trial. Catherine and Culpepper were both executed in February 1542.

Shortly after his release, Wyatt was made a Knight of the Shire for Kent and High Steward for Maidstone. In the autumn of 1542 he was sent to greet the Emperor's Ambassador at Falmouth and to accompany him to London but, on the way, he caught a chill, became ill and died at Sherbourne where he was buried in the Minster in October, when just under forty years old. He was a brilliant, attractive, proud and impetuous man, who made enemies as easily as he made friends, and who had accepted, without flinching, all the risks of a whirlwind career. His friend Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, wrote in memory of him: "Wyat resteth here, that quick could never rest."

Chapter 16

SIR THOMAS WYATT THE YOUNGER

HE WAS the only son of Thomas the elder and of his wife Elizabeth Brooke and was born in 1521. When fifteen, he was an Esquire of the Body to King Henry the Eighth and was appointed Joint Constable of Conysborough Castle in Yorkshire, a post which his father and his grandfather had held. In 1537, when barely sixteen, he was married to Jane, a daughter and co-heiress of Sir William Haute and she brought, as her dowry, Wavering Manor, one of the ancient seats of her family.

On the death of his father at the end of 1542, young Thomas Wyatt succeeded to the vast Kentish and other estates, as well as to his father's debts to the King, to his uncle Sir Anthony Lee and to others. These debts he was able to redeem in the following year by the sale of some of the properties for £3,700. Just before that, he and several young companions, including Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, were arrested and brought before the Privy Council for roistering in London during Lent, an offence for which they were committed to the Tower for a week or two, to cool their heads and their heels. This prank, for it was little more, would have been ignored from young men of their station had it not been in Lent, which was too much for the citizens of London and for the Council. They were then set free and pardoned. Young Surrey, a sonnet writer and a friend of Thomas Wyatt the elder, was later on attainted, as his father Thomas Howard, 3rd Duke of Norfolk, and as his grandfather the 2nd Duke, had been before him, and he was executed in 1547.

In the Spring of 1543, King Henry had allied himself with the Emperor Charles and had declared war against France. In that Autumn, Wyatt served as a volunteer at the fight at Landrecies and was commended by Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, for his gallant behaviour. In the following year he was given a responsible command at the siege and capture of Boulogne and he appears to have remained serving there until 1550 when we restored Boulogne to France, leaving Calais as our only French possession for another few years.

Meanwhile both Henry the Eighth and Francis the First had died and Edward the Sixth was King of England. During that short reign of six years, Thomas Wyatt, who was neither a diplomat like his father

nor an administrator like his grandfather, took no active part in public affairs until January 1554, when he heard of Queen Mary's intention to marry Philip of Spain. Like many others, Wyatt looked upon such a marriage as being likely to bring England under the dominance of Spain and therefore disastrous for this country. Consequently, he favoured the claims of Lady Jane Grey to the Throne, she being, like Queen Mary, a direct descendant of Henry the Seventh, but through the distaff line and a generation removed from Mary. When Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, invited him to join in a national uprising in protest at the proposed marriage, Wyatt, being an impulsive man of action, undertook at once to rouse Kent for the purpose, although Mary had sent a special delegation to explain to him the motives of her intended marriage. Wyatt invited his friends to Alington Castle and got their support. He then headed 4,000 men from the county and marched towards London, arriving at Blackheath at the end of January and entering London a week later. But opposition had been organised and Wyatt's men began to fade away, leaving him and other leaders to be captured. He was taken to the Tower, this time as a traitor, and after a short trial (for the facts were clear) he was attainted and on the 11th of April 1554 he was beheaded. Lady Jane Grey, a Queen for a fortnight, was beheaded on the following day.

Thus only twelve years after the death of his father and seventeen after that of his grandfather, Thomas Wyatt the Younger (who had been knighted in 1547) met his end in a quixotic cause and a badly organised revolt which was doomed to failure from the start.

Both the Thomas Wyatts had been married by their parents far too early for them to have a say in the choice of their brides, and the inevitable happened. The elder Thomas had a romantic affair with Anne Boleyn which lasted until the King became his rival. The younger Thomas had a love affair which also lasted for some years but, in his case, without involving a separation from his wife. It was with Elizabeth Darell a daughter of Sir Edward Darell of Littlecote, Wilts, who for a time had been a Chamberlain to Queen Catherine of Arragon and who died in 1529. When Queen Catherine died at Kimbolton in January 1536, she left "Mistress Darrell twenty pounds for her marriage." In 1538 King Henry the Eighth and Cromwell, in pursuance of their anti-papist policy, vented their spleen on the family of De La Pole, who were papists and Yorkists. One of the family, Reginald (afterwards a Cardinal), who was abroad and who had strong support from the Pope, from the Emperor and from the

French King, was a thorn in the flesh of King Henry, whose Papal and divorce policy he strongly and openly opposed. With the object of putting pressure upon Reginald, who refused to return to England, his mother Margaret (a sister of King Edward the Fourth), and his three brothers were all imprisoned in the Tower, the eldest (Henry, Lord Montague) and his mother being beheaded. It was during the trials of these unfortunate people that Elizabeth Darell was interrogated as a witness, and in the course of cross-examination, she stated that someone (she could not remember who) had mentioned in her hearing that the King was sending a man to France to kill Reginald De La Pole, who however had been warned and so escaped. Elizabeth seems to have suffered no harm as a witness and then to have disappeared from the scene. Soon after that incident, she became the mistress of Thomas Wyatt the Younger, by whom she had a son named Francis Darell alias Wyatt, possibly in the year 1540. Shortly before Thomas Wyatt the Elder died in 1542, he had acquired properties in Dorset in exchange for some of his lands in Kent and, in his Will (dated June 1541), he had left the Dorset properties to Elizabeth Darell (his son's mistress) with the right of reversion to her son Francis. In 1543 the properties were confirmed as being held by Elizabeth Darell for her life and then to go to her son Francis, of whom we hear no more, unless he was the "little Wyatt a bastard of no substance" who was examined in the Tower in February 1554 while his father was imprisoned there awaiting execution. Elizabeth eventually married a certain Robert Strowde shortly after 1544 and presumably she received the legacy of Queen Catherine and also the legacy which her father had left for her on the occasion of her marriage.

Chapter 17

DESCENDANTS OF SIR THOMAS & JANE (HAUTE) WYATT

OF THE ten children of Thomas and Jane (Haute) Wyatt, only one son George and two daughters, Anne and Jane, grew up and married. (Anne married Roger Twysden and Jane married Charles Scott). They all are three mentioned in Twysden's Roll of 1578, to which a reference has already been made and in which are given pedigrees and Arms of the families of Woodville, Haute, Wyatt, Twysden and Scott. The Pedigree of Elizabeth Woodville shows her descendants by each of her two husbands, Sir John Grey who was killed in the Wars of the Roses, and King Edward the Fourth. The Grey pedigree runs down for four generations through the Marquises of Dorset to Lady Jane Grey. That of King Edward descends (a) through Margaret of York and her husband King James IV of Scotland down to Mary, Queen of Scots who was beheaded in 1586, and (b) through Henry the Eighth to the other three Tudor Sovereigns Edward the Sixth, Mary and Elizabeth.

It was possible for Twysden to include in his Roll the Arms and pedigree of George Wyatt for the reason that, in 1571, George and his family had been restored in blood and in Arms, after having been deprived of them as a consequence of the attainter and execution of his father, Sir Thomas, in 1554. In that same year of 1571 Queen Elizabeth acted with benevolence towards her distant kinswoman Lady Jane (Haute) Wyatt, the widow of Sir Thomas, by restoring to her the estates of Boxley Abbey and Wavering Manor. Thus the poverty of the Wyatt family, which had made them dependent upon help from relatives and friends for seventeen years, was to some extent alleviated.

George Wyatt, who was born during the year of his father's death, was admitted to Gray's Inn when he was seventeen. In 1582 he married Jane the daughter of Sir Thomas Finch deceased and, through her mother, an heiress. This marriage helped eventually to restore further the Wyatt family fortunes. Sir Thomas Finch had been a soldier and, in 1554 he had taken an active part in the suppression of the Kentish revolt led by George's father, Sir Thomas. George and Jane (Finch) Wyatt had three sons, Francis, Haute and George, and a daughter who married John, Lord Finch, a relative of George's

mother and a Lord Justice who, in 1627, was Speaker of the House of Commons. George Wyatt was buried at Boxley in 1623.

The eldest son Francis (1575-1644) matriculated at St. Mary's Hall, Oxford in 1603 and in the following year was admitted to Gray's Inn. He was knighted in 1618 and in the same year he married Margaret, a sister of Sir Edwin Sandys who was a member of the Council of the Virginia Company of London which organised the emigration of Dutch and English settlers to America, where they founded the town of Plymouth, Massachusetts. Through this marriage connection, Sir Francis Wyatt was nominated Governor of Virginia in 1621, a post he held, subject to a short break, until 1641. During his first year of office, thirteen hundred settlers arrived in Virginia but the inflow was then checked by the great Indian revolt in 1622 when three hundred settlers were massacred. Francis Wyatt did a good deal for Virginia in his earlier years, although he became unpopular towards the end. Francis and Margaret (Sandys) Wyatt had three sons, but only one of them, Edwin, had any male issue.

Edwin Wyatt (1629-1714) was admitted to the Inner Temple in 1648 and became in due course a Bencher of his Inn. He practised as a barrister and became a Sergeant-at-Law and Recorder of Maidstone. He married Frances Crispe and had three sons but none of them had any male isue. Edwin's third son Richard Wyatt (1673-1736) was the last of the Wyatts to own Boxley Abbey which he left by his Will to a distant kinsman Robert Marsham, the second Lord Romney.

Haute, the second son of George and Jane (Finch) Wyatt, was born in 1594 and matriculated in 1611 at Queen's College, Oxford, where he took Holy Orders. He married firstly (in 1618) Elizabeth Mitford who died in 1626 at Boxley, and secondly (in 1629) Anna Cox who died at Boxley in February 1631/2 in childbirth. By his first wife, Haute had two sons who survived him, George who was baptised at St. Helen's, Worcester, in 1619, and Edward who was born about 1621. By his second wife, he had a son John born about 1630 and a daughter Anne in 1631. Haute Wyatt joined his brother Francis in Virginia, arriving at Jamestown in October 1621 where, for about five years, he officiated as Minister at Jamestown Church. In the autumn of 1626 he returned with his wife Elizabeth and their two sons to England, Elizabeth dying in the following October, on the birth of a third son Thomas who however only lived for one year. Haute Wyatt became Vicar of Boxley in 1631, being buried there in 1638. His two elder sons, George and Edward, returned to Virginia, presumably in 1639, just after their father's death and while their uncle, Sir Francis, was still Governor. George and Edward Wyatt settled in Virginia, where they married and had families. George held

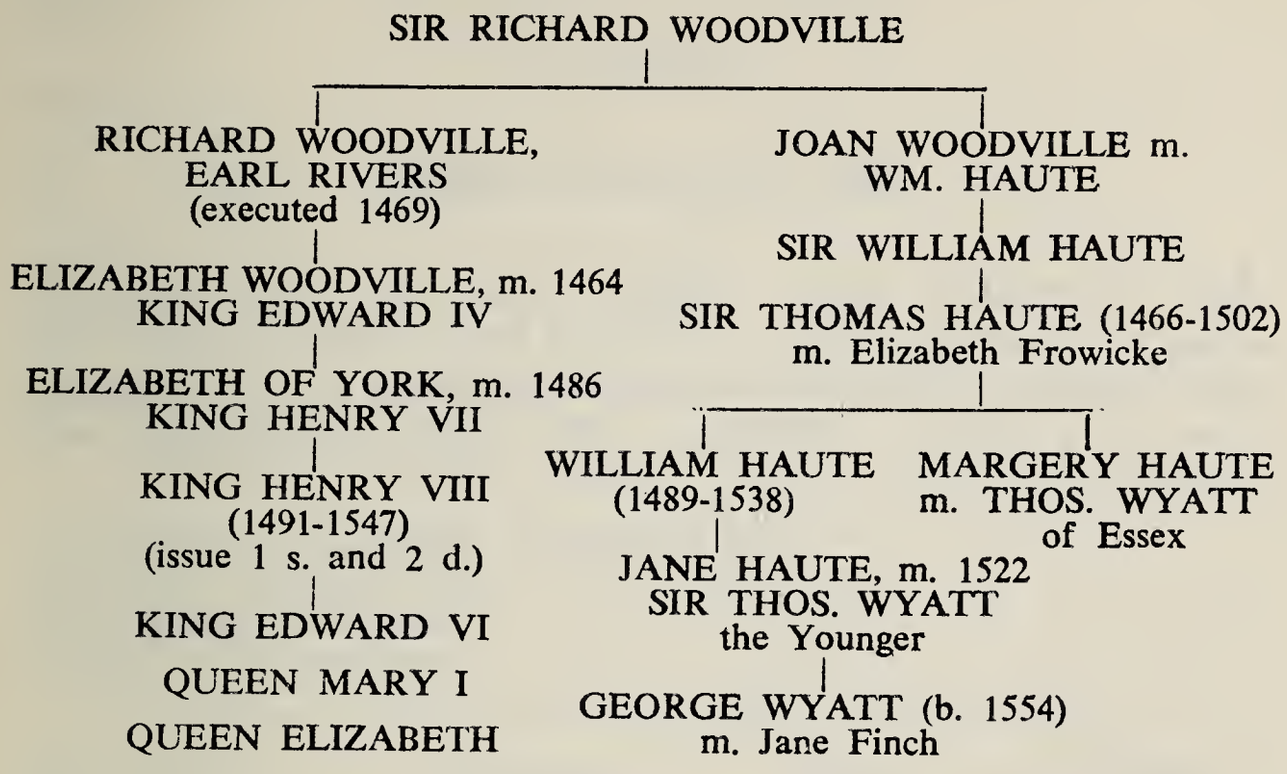
land in James City County while Edward held land in Williamsburg (York County) and also in Gloucester County. There are direct descendants of George and Edward Wyatt living in the United States today.

George, the third son of George and Jane (Finch) Wyatt, married and had issue. His great-grandson, also named George, was Chief Clerk of the Vote Office of the House of Commons and married Hannah Wood. He had three sons, Samuel, Charles and George and three daughters, some of whom may have had issue from whom there may possibly be descendants alive today. His youngest daughter Hannah (born 1735) married in 1771 William Vincent, Head Master of Westminster School and Dean of Westminster Abbey who died in 1815. Both William and Hannah Vincent were buried in Westminster Abbey.

Marriage Connections of the Wyatts of Kent

In the far-off days, people of all classes naturally tended to marry into the families of their neighbours, for travelling to distant counties was, for obvious reasons, uncommon and restricted. The gentry of Kent were no exception to this general rule and consequently many of them became linked by marriage at one time or another. Theoretically, this creation of a wide local kinship through marriages could result in a formidable block of mutual support and influence but, in practice, this was not always the case when the test came. An unhappy marriage, for example, tended to alienate two families instead of bringing them together, as did a local revolt, or the Church policy of Henry the Eighth through Cardinal Wolsey or Thomas Cromwell. On the whole, however, these family alliances were of benefit to someone in days when influence and patronage played such important roles on the life and career of many a young gentleman. The Kent Wyatts had marriage links, directly or indirectly, with many important families and, through the Woodvilles and the Hautes, they

became distant kinsmen of Tudor Sovereigns, as has been previously mentioned and as the following table indicates: —

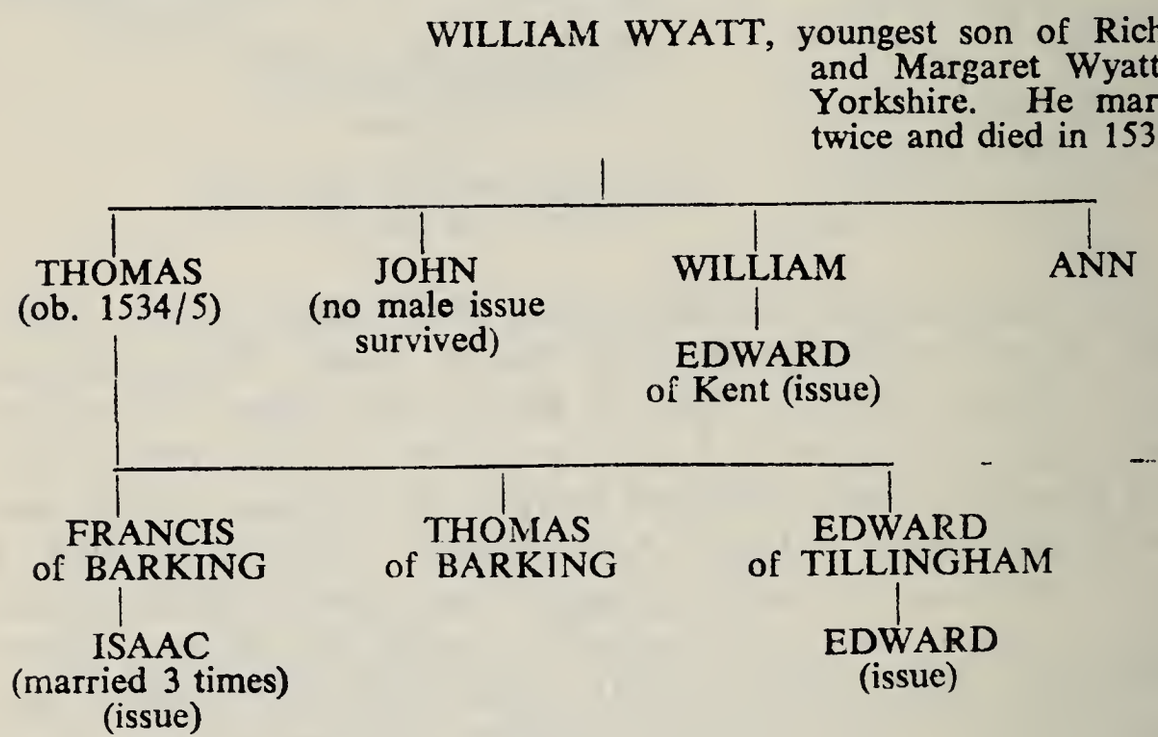

SIR RICHARD WOODVILLE
RICHARD WOODVILLE, EARL RIVERS (executed 1469)
ELIZABETH WOODVILLE, m. 1464 KING EDWARD IV
ELIZABETH OF YORK, m. 1486 KING HENRY VII
KING HENRY VIII (1491-1547) (issue 1 s. and 2 d.)
KING EDWARD VI
QUEEN MARY I
QUEEN ELIZABETH
JOAN WOODVILLE m. WM. HAUTE
SIR WILLIAM HAUTE
SIR THOMAS HAUTE (1466-1502) m. Elizabeth Frowicke
WILLIAM HAUTE (1489-1538)
MARGERY HAUTE m. THOS. WYATT of Essex
JANE HAUTE, m. 1522 SIR THOS. WYATT the Younger
GEORGE WYATT (b. 1554) m. Jane Finch

Other indirect links for the Wyatts were created by the intermarriage of the families of Howard, Boleyn, Haute, Culpepper and Cheney. Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, the victor of Flodden, married a grand-daughter of Laurence Cheney of Fenn Ditton, and Thomas Howard's sister Elizabeth married Sir Thomas Boleyn and they were the parents of Queen Anne Boleyn. Edmund Howard, a brother of Thomas, married a Culpepper and their daughter, Queen Catherine Howard, was instrumental in saving Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder from the scaffold in 1541, a year before she herself was beheaded with her cousin Thomas Culpepper, who had married Elizabeth Haute, a sister of the wife of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Younger. As though to complicate matters still further, William Cheney of Kent married Isabel, a sister of Sir Thomas Boleyn. At the end of the 16th century, Sir Samuel Sandys, a son of Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York, married Mary Culpepper of the Kent family and, in due course, their daughter Margaret Sandys married, in 1618, Sir Francis Wyatt, later Governor of Virginia, a grandson of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Younger. These few examples show how closely interwoven and how almost inextricably mixed up some of these families were.

Chapter 18

THE WYATTS OF ESSEX

AS ALREADY stated, William Wyatt, Sir Henry's youngest brother, settled in Essex. It is not known when he came south from Yorkshire but it may have been towards the end of the reign of Edward the Fourth, as did Henry. His immediate descendants were as follows: —


WILLIAM WYATT, youngest son of Richard and Margaret Wyatt of Yorkshire. He married twice and died in 1532.
THOMAS (ob. 1534/5)
JOHN (no male issue survived)
WILLIAM
ANN
EDWARD of Kent (issue)
FRANCIS of BARKING
THOMAS of BARKING
EDWARD of TILLINGHAM
ISAAC (married 3 times) (issue)
EDWARD (issue)

The first William married (I) a daughter of a man named Harde of Essex but her Christian name is not known; nor are the names of his second wife. In his early days he was known as "of Barking," where it is possible that his father Richard Wyatt of Yorkshire had a small property. In 1485 King Henry the Seventh assigned the Manor of Bradwell-on-Sea to his future mother-in-law Queen Elizabeth Woodville, the widow of Edward the Fourth. In March 1505 the Manor was leased to William Wyatt for forty years at an annual rental of £75 and after his death in 1532 the lease was renewed in favour of his descendants. He also held, of Richard Lord Riche the benefactor of Felsted School, a part or the whole of the Manor of Sutton (Essex) with the advowson which remained in his family until the end of the 16th century. William Wyatt became of some local

note in his County and in 1525 he was a Collector in Essex for the Subsidy for the King's war against France which, in 1522, had brought about a Franco-Scottish alliance against England.

Thomas Wyatt (William's eldest son) who died soon after his father, married about 1516 Margaret a daughter of Sir Thomas Haute and the widow of William Isaac of Kent. She was an aunt of the Jane Haute who married Sir Thomas Wyatt the Younger of Kent. Thomas inherited his father's properties at Bradwell, Tillingham and Sutton.

William Wyatt's third son William married Jane Herne of Surrey. Their son Edward married Cecile Dingley of Charlton (Worcestershire) and had several sons who, doubtless, left issue.

Ann Wyatt, William's daughter, married John Savile of Lupset in Yorkshire, the Keeper of Sandal Castle. This John Savile, or his son John, became Esquire to Ann's cousin Sir Thomas Wyatt of Kent. In the Church at Aylesford, Kent, is a Brass dated 1545 to the memory of John Savill gentleman "one time Servant to Sir Thomas Wyatt."

Of Thomas's sons Francis, the eldest was "of Bobbingworth in Essex." He married Frances Ellis and had a son named Isaac who was obviously named after William Isaac of Kent. Isaac married three times and had two sons and three daughters who, in their turn, had issue.

Thomas Wyatt's third son Edward was "of Tillingham Hall" near Bradwell and married Mary a daughter of Sir William Waldegrave whose brother Edward Waldegrave married Elizabeth Cheney of Devon. Edward Wyatt died in 1571, leaving one son, also named Edward, who married Jane a daughter of Wilton (or Weston) Browne of Essex, by whom he left issue, a son. In Tillingham Church is a fine effigy of this later Edward Wyatt dated 1584. The figure is represented kneeling upon a cushion before an open book, his hands clasped in prayer and his sword by his side. Above the figure is a Shield with the Arms of Wyatt, "Gules on a fesse Or between three boars' heads couped Argent as many lions rampant Sable," quartered with the Arms of Bayliffe alias Clarke and those of Browne.

In this sketch, no attempt has been made to prolong beyond Isaac and Edward the pedigree of the Essex Wyats, who left many descendants, some of whom may be alive today.

There is in the Church of Bradwell-on-Sea another Wyatt Brass effigy. It is to the memory of a Margaret Wyott and bears the date of 1526. The figure of a woman standing is 18 inches high with a

Shield above her head and a plate, bearing an inscription of her name and the date, below her feet. The Shield bears "— — — three owls and a canton in sinister Or", impaling "Barry of eight — — — on a bend over all — — — three escallops Or". The tinctures have worn away.

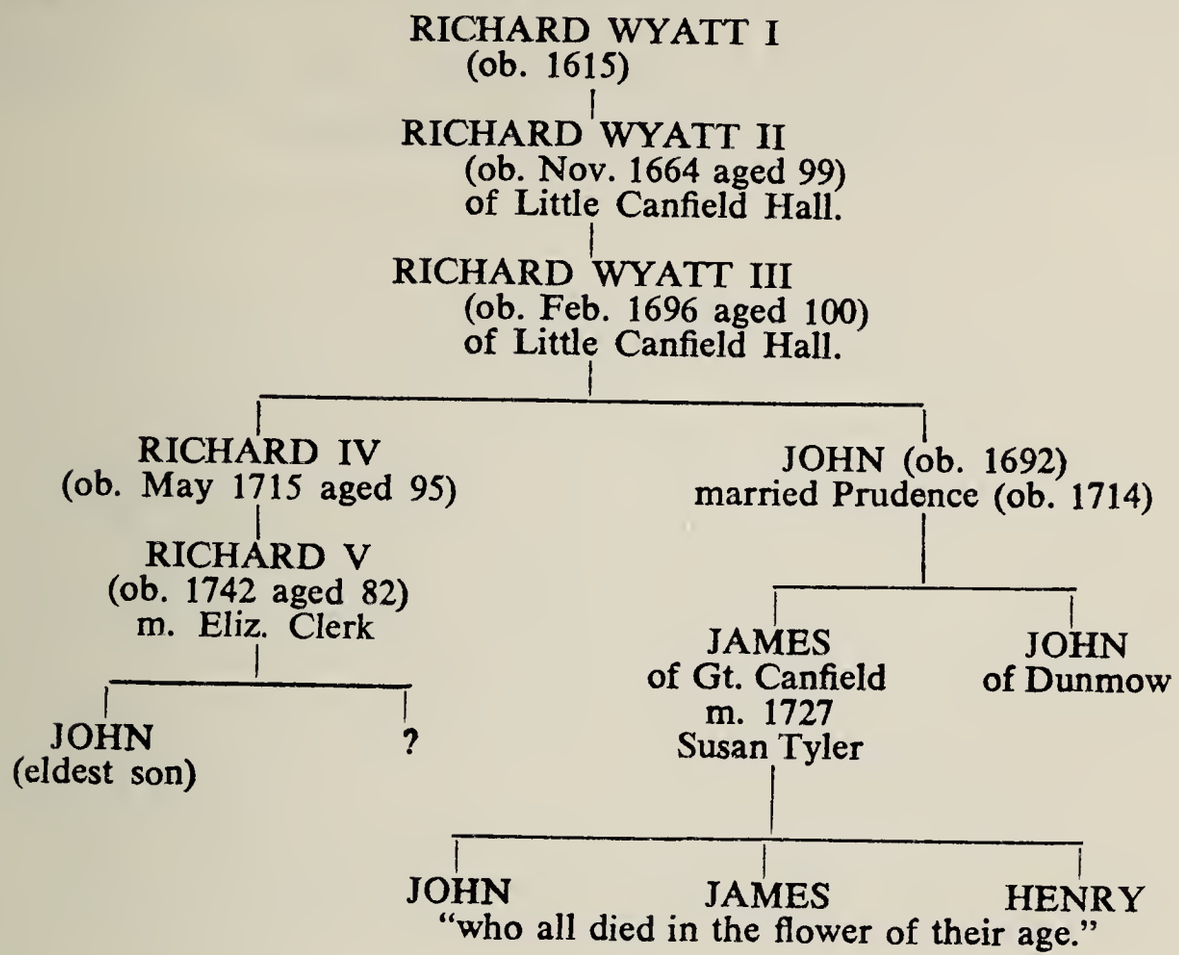
A feature of this interesting Brass is the difficulty of recognising either the individual or her Arms. As to the woman, she might possibly be Margaret Bayliffe alias Clarke, the mother of Sir Henry Wyatt of Kent and of William Wyatt of Essex, but, if so, she would have been very old and well in her eighties. Or she may be one of the two wives (whose names are unknown) of William Wyatt who died in 1532. She could not be Margaret Haute who married Thomas Wyatt of Essex because she outlived her husband who died in 1534/5. The difficulty of recognising her is increased by the doubt whether the Arms above the effigy really belong to it. Nearly a hundred years ago, the then Rector of Bradwell wrote a letter (which is still in existence) stating that he had found in his Church an old Brass dated 1526 which had fallen from its original place and was evidently in a state of some disrepair. He stated that he had restored the Brass and had placed it in its original position. Recent enquiries, however, indicate that the former Rector was probably mistaken in believing that he had completely restored it and had placed it in its original position. In other words, there is some doubt whether the Shield belonged to this Margaret Wyott, or indeed to a Wyott at all.

It may be irrelevant that the Arms of the family of Savile of Yorkshire were "Argent on a bend Sable three owls of the field"; quartering "Barry of six Argent and Azure." Evidently the Savile Shield bears some resemblance to the one which appears above the effigy of Margaret Wyott in Bradwell Church. As already stated above, Ann Wyatt, the only daughter of William Wyatt of Bradwell married John Savile of Lupset, Yorkshire. This reference to the Savile Shield may merely add to the confusion. It is all a mystery which may never be solved.

The Wyatts of Little Canfield (Essex)

A family of Wyatts lived at Little Canfield Hall and at Dunmow for several generations during the 17th and 18th centuries. They included five consecutive Richards of whom three, father, son and grandson, were aged 99, 99 and 95 when they died. One of them, when 99, walked from Little Canfield to the Thames Inn in London in one day, which would have been quite a feat, even for a young man.

Their incomplete pedigree has been reconstructed from various sources as follows: —



A John Wyatt of a later generation, born about 1780, joined the 8th Dragoons as a Cornet in 1799 and transferred as a Captain to the 34th Foot (later The Border Regiment) in 1808. With that Regiment he served in the Peninsular War; in the battles of Vimiero (1808), Talavera (1809), and Busaco (1810), after which Wellington withdrew his Army behind the already-prepared lines of Torres Vedras. In the following year, 1811, there were the battles of Fuentes d'onoro and, in the month of May, Albuera, where John Wyatt was fatally wounded. He appears to have been unmarried. In his Will he left properties in and near Little Canfield to his mother for her life and then to his female cousins. It is possible, though not certain, that he was the last of his family in the male line.

These Wyatts probably descended from those of Kent or from those of Bradwell and Tillingham in Essex. Their Arms, as shown in the Church at Canfield, were "Gules on a fesse Or with three boars' heads coupés Argent between three lions rampant Sable". They closely resemble the Arms of the Kent family, subject solely to a transposition of the charges, the Kent Arms being "Gules on a fesse Or three lions rampant Sable between three boars' heads couped Argent tusked Or".

In 1740 the above James Wyatt (son of John) was a Trustee for a farm at Moreton (Essex) which had been granted to Felsted School by Richard, Lord Riche, in the 16th century. It was in 1740 that the Headmaster of Felsted was the Rev. John Wyatt who, it may be assumed, was a member of the Little Canfield family.

Chapter 19

THE WYATTS OF SUSSEX AND SURREY

A THOMAS WYATT lived at Flansham in Sussex in 1523, according to the Subsidy Roll of that year. One of the family traditions is that he was a brother of Sir Henry Wyatt of Kent. Another tradition is that a son of Sir Thomas the Younger took refuge with a kinsman, Richard Wyatt (a son of the above Thomas), who was Rector of Slindon, after his father's execution in 1554. Each of these stories should be given the credit due to tradition, but not more. Family traditions are often true and the fact that they lack proof does not necessarily make them purely fanciful. Be that as it may, this Thomas Wyatt of Flansham had several sons including John of Flansham, Robert of Slindon and Richard, the above-mentioned Parson.

John Wyatt's descendants lived at Flansham for 180 years after his death, the Flansham property being sold in 1757 by a William Wyatt, whose son Richard (1725-1801) bought a property at Court Wick, near Littlehampton and about four miles east of Flansham. Richard's son, also named Richard, was Sheriff of Sussex in 1810 and died without issue. The Sheriff's sister, Miriam Wyatt (1758-1806) married Hugh Penfold of Cissbury, near Worthing, and their son, Hugh, adopted his mother's surname of Wyatt, his descendants, the Penfold Wyatts, being alive today.

Robert, the second son of Thomas Wyatt of Flansham of 1523, had a son Richard (1554-1619) who was apprenticed to a Roger Shears, the then Master of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters in London. Richard Wyatt married his master's daughter, Margaret Shears, and in due course became himself Master of the Carpenters' Company and a wealthy man. He lived at Isleworth in Middlesex until towards the end of his days, when he bought Hall Place, Shackleford, in Surrey. He was buried in Isleworth Church where there is a monument to his memory, showing his Coat of Arms as being "Gules on a fesse Or between three boars' heads couped Argent a lion passant between two pheons Sable". This is similar to but not identical with the Arms of Sir Henry Wyatt of Kent.

The Carpenters' Company still possess a massive State chair and an octagonal oak table bearing the initials R.W. of Richard Wyatt, one time Master. Richard Wyatt the Carpenter had three sons, Henry,

Roger and Francis. Henry inherited the Shackleford property where his descendants lived until they sold it a century later in 1748. Roger, the second son, died without issue, but Francis, the third son, was the progenitor of a branch of Wyatts who lived at Horsted Keynes in Sussex on a property called "Treemans" which they acquired about 1658 and sold some two hundred years later.

Incidentally, the name of Horsted Keynes derives from a William de Cahaignes (Keynes) who held land there at Domesday from Count Robert de Mortain, the Conqueror's half-brother. The De Cahaignes family were in Horsted Keynes until early in the 15th century and the ancient Church of St. Giles, which they built or restored, contains an effigy of a knight in armour dating from about 1220, evidently a Crusader and doubtless a De Cahaignes. By way of a contrast, it may be mentioned that the same Church contains a Cross in memory of the local men who lost their lives in the 1914-1918 War, a list which includes the name of Godfrey Wyatt of Horsted Keynes, a Lieutenant in the Lancashire Fusiliers.

Francis Wyatt, the third son of Richard the Carpenter, married Timothea Burrel of Cuckfield (Sussex), a member of a family into which a Richard Wyatt of Ninehead (Somerset) married a century later. Francis' son and his grandson, each named Francis, were High Sheriffs of Sussex in the latter half of the 17th century, the third Francis leaving three surviving sons, Roger, Richard and William Wyatt. Of them, Roger was "an alien to his family", his brother inheriting the family estates. Richard, who died without issue, left (in 1753) "Twenty pounds apiece to my brother Roger's children". If those children left any descendants who are alive today, they are probably the only remaining Wyatts of Horsted Keynes, with a pedigree covering at least four hundred years.

William Wyatt, the third son of the third Francis, became the heir of his father and of his brothers. He had a son Richard, who had two sons, Richard and Thomas, of whom the former was Sheriff of Sussex in 1789 and died without issue. His brother, Thomas (1765-1856) left descendants who served with distinction in the Army; some of them in the Peninsular War under Wellington; others in the Natal Campaign of 1842, in the Boer War of 1899, and others in the World War of 1914-1918, the youngest and the last of the family being killed in Gallipoli in 1915. His elder brother, a Colonel, who also served in the 1914-18 War, died without issue; a tragic end of a gallant family.

In 1583, in the days of Queen Elizabeth, a Coat of Arms was granted by Garter Dethick in the name of Sir Walter Raleigh to the newly-appointed "Chiefest Governor of the City of Raleigh in Virginia", a certain John White of London and his Assistant Governors. The composite Shield shows John White's own ancient Arms quartered with those of other families with which the Whites were connected by marriage. Those families included Butler and Wyatt, though which Wyatts and which Butlers is not known.

It may be merely a coincidence that Richard Wyatt, the Master of the Carpenters' Company, and his family had links with Butlers and also with Whites, for his wife, Margaret Shears, impaled the Arms of Butler with those of Shears, and one of Richard Wyatt's sons, Roger (born about 1578), married a Martha White of London. We must leave it at that.

Chapter 20

STAFFORDSHIRE

ONE of the most noteworthy Wyatt families is that of Staffordshire, whose pedigree commences with a Humphrey Wyatt (1550?-1610) and continues down to the present day, covering some four hundred years.

The origin of this family is uncertain, although traditions are not lacking. One is that Humphrey was a son of Hugh Wyatt of the Devon family and that, in the days of Edward the Sixth (1546-53), a property in Staffordshire was granted to Hugh. But the dates do not fit, for Hugh was baptised at Braunton in Devon in December 1538 and his only son was named John, who was born in 1617, whereas Humphrey of Staffordshire was born about 1550 and was probably a son of William and Jane Wyatt of that County. Another tradition is that William Wyatt of Bradwell (Essex), a brother of Sir Henry Wyatt of Kent, left a legacy in his Will to "my kinsfolk in Staffordshire". That may be so, but all efforts to find the Will appear to have been fruitless. Moreover, when in 1780 two brothers, John and James Wyatt of the Staffordshire family, applied to the College of Arms for Armorial Bearings and were granted Arms resembling those granted to Sir Henry Wyatt of Kent in 1508, it seems obvious that they could not have thought that they had any hereditary right to the Kent Arms, or they need not have made an original application, though they might have applied for a confirmation. The grant to them was made retro-active to their grandfather, John, and was made valid for all his descendants. It differed from that of Kent only to the extent that it has two lions passant instead of three lions rampant, the boars' heads and the tinctures being identical. This resemblance is not of itself evidence of kinship between the families of Kent and Staffordshire, for it was not unusual for the College, when relationship was not established but when the names were the same, to grant Arms based upon an earlier Coat.

The Staffordshire family is remarkable in that during the seventh, eighth and ninth generations they produced no less than thirteen architects, of whom some were renowned, as well as two sculptors of distinction, apart from portrait painters. They were a particularly gifted family in the Arts, for which they seem to have possessed an

hereditary trait. The earliest indication of this appeared in the persons of two brothers of the sixth generation: John (1700-66), who was an inventor and a Master carpenter, and Benjamin (1709-72), who was an architect as well as a farmer. Benjamin had seven sons, of whom five became architects, one of them being a Royal Academician. Those sons, in their turn, produced in the eighth generation five architects (including a Member of the Royal Academy) and a well-known sculptor.

An unusual feature of the family was that, in the seventh generation, eight Wyatts married cousins named Wyatt, as did three in the next two generations; they being in several cases first cousins.

From so many talented men, one may select a few who were best known to the public, such as James Wyatt and his sons Benjamin Dean Wyatt and Matthew Cotes Wyatt, his nephew, Sir Jeffrey Wyattville, and two brothers of a later generation, Sir Matthew Digby Wyatt and Thomas Henry Wyatt.

James Wyatt (1746-1813) studied architecture in Rome and Venice before returning to England to leap into fame at the age of twenty-two for his design of the Pantheon in Oxford Street. Four years later he was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy but early success seems to have developed human frailties, added to which this "recalcitrant genius" (as he was called) was by nature unmethodical, improvident and unreliable, all of which defects irritated and maddened his patrons and clients. Nevertheless, the amount of designing and of building which he undertook was prodigious. He restored Cathedrals, Oxford Colleges, Royal Castles, and designed many great houses. In 1776 he was Surveyor of Westminster Abbey and, later, Surveyor and Comptroller-General of Works. In 1795 he became a full Member of the Royal Academy and in 1803 he was President. He was the chief architect of his day and enjoyed the patronage of George the Third and of Queen Charlotte. Although he was considered lazy, the explanation probably was that he was quite unmethodical, had no sense of responsibility towards his clients and, above all, he took much more interest in producing ideas and designs than in carrying them out. He was buried in Westminster Abbey in 1813, leaving four sons, of whom three were architects and one was a sculptor.

Benjamin Dean Wyatt (1775-1852) was the eldest son of James and became his pupil after getting into debt at Oxford and taking no degree. After studying architecture for a couple of years, he went to India in 1798 as a Writer in the service of the East India Company and became Secretary to Lord Wellesley. India, however, offered no scope for a young man of his temperament and mentality and so, after a short time there, he returned home and became Private Secretary to

Sir Arthur Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington) in Ireland, where he remained for two years before taking up architecture as a career in London under the aegis of his father. He re-built Drury Lane Theatre and designed the Duke of York's Column in Carlton Gardens, as well as many important buildings such as Apsley House. Later in life he again got into debt and died in Camden Town almost in poverty.

Matthew Cotes Wyatt (1777-1862), another son of James, was a well-known sculptor. After studying at the School of the Royal Academy, he was employed, through his father, at Windsor Castle. He exhibited regularly at the Academy from 1803 until 1814 and his equestrian statue of King George the Third in Pall Mall is his best-known work. He became wealthy and was knighted in 1848.

Sir Jeffrey Wyattville (1766-1840) was a nephew of James Wyatt, for whom he worked before starting on his own in 1799 as an architect. He was an industrious worker, designing or restoring over a hundred buildings, including Chatsworth. His chief work was the restoration of Windsor Castle which he transformed for George the Fourth (as regards the interior) from a medieval fortress into a modern residence, as Sir Henry Wyatt of Kent virtually did for Alington Castle three hundred years earlier. King George, by way of his appreciation, authorised Jeffrey Wyatt to change his name to the hybrid name of Wyattville and to adopt the word "Windsor" as his motto. It has been said that he changed his name to differentiate himself from his distinguished uncle, James, who had also been employed at Windsor; a curious conception not easy to understand. In 1828 he was knighted and was granted a residence in Windsor Castle, being already a Member of the Royal Academy. He was buried in St. George's Chapel.

Sir Matthew Digby Wyatt (1820-77), an architect, was the youngest son of Matthew Wyatt, a barrister and a Metropolitan Police Magistrate, of the eighth generation of the Staffordshire family. His mother was Anne Hillier. Matthew Digby Wyatt built Paddington Station and he either built or restored many public and private buildings. In 1866 he won the Gold Medal of the Institute of British Architects and was the first Slade Professor of Art at Cambridge University. He was born at Rowde, near Seende in Wiltshire, where a family of Thomas Wyatts had lived for several generations and were probably akin to Wyatts who had lived at Calne (a few miles north of Seende) since early in the 16th century. A Thomas Wyatt of Seend married, about 1720, Alice Hillier, possibly an early kinswoman of the Anne Hillier who became the mother of Matthew Digby Wyatt a century later. All this rather suggests that the Wyatts of Calne and Rowde

in Wiltshire may have been kinsmen of those in Staffordshire. Matthew Digby Wyatt was not only a practising architect, but a well-known and prolific writer on Art. He was knighted in 1855. In his later years he suffered from poor health and went to live in South Wales, where he died.

Thomas Henry Wyatt (1807-88) was a brother of Matthew Digby Wyatt and, like his brother, was an architect. He lived in Great Russell Street where in 1860 he admitted his son Matthew into partnership. In 1873 Thomas Henry was awarded the Royal Academy Gold Medal. He took a great interest in his family pedigree and some of his letters on the subject are in existence.

According to Burke's "Landed Gentry", an earlier Benjamin Dean Wyatt (1744-1818) was Chief Agent to Lord Penryn and lived near Bangor. His son James Wyatt of Bryn Gwynant, Carnarvonshire, was a Deputy-Lieutenant and a Justice for his County and was the great-grandfather of Colonel James Digby Wyatt who lives to-day in Somerset.

The Staffordshire Wyatts have descendants of their name today in various parts of the Country, as well as living descendants through the distaff side named Bedford and Milligan, who certainly have forbears of whom they may be proud.

Chapter 21

WYATTS OF SOMERSET AND WYATT-EDGELLS OF SURREY

In 1630 a Richard Wyatt was Surveyor of Customs in Somerset and lived at Ninehead, near Wellington. He had a son, Richard, also of Ninehead, who disclaimed Arms at the Visitation of 1672, although whether this was done by his own desire or whether the Herald disclaimed him for non-appearance, or for failure to produce evidence of any right to bear Arms, is not known. He also had a son, Richard, who lived from 1685 until 1736 and was a member of the Middle Temple and Solicitor for the Customs of the Western Ports. He held properties in Hill Farrant, Buckland and Ninehead in Somerset, with a London house in Marylebone. In 1731 he was granted Arms "Sable a fesse dancettée Argent between three eagles displayed Or, a chief of the last". This was an unusual Wyatt Coat and was entirely different to the Arms of the Wyatts of Kent or elsewhere, as was his Crest, and why it did so differ is an interesting speculation, even if kinship with the Kent family was not genealogically established. This Richard Wyatt the third married in 1723 Frances Spratt (widow) née Burrell, of a Sussex family into which a Wyatt of Horsted Keynes had also married. His Will, dated 1736, was witnessed by a Joseph Wyatt. The only Wyatt bearing that christian name at that time appears to have been Joseph Wyatt, merchant of Hythe (Hants) who, in his own Will of 1756 left a legacy to "my sister-in-law Elizabeth Spratt now living with me". It would probably be stretching imagination too far to suggest that the Merchant of Hythe was the witness to the Will of Richard Wyatt of Somerset and London in 1736 and that the sister-in-law of the former was related to the first husband of the latter's wife, Frances.

The above Richard Wyatt had a son, Richard, the fourth of that name in succession, who was admitted to the Middle Temple in 1739 and married (in 1766) Priscilla Edgell of Milton Place, Egham, Surrey. Twenty years later this Richard acquired Foster House and Luddington House near Egham and his generation severed the family connection with Somerset, although years later the family moved back to the West Country, to Cowley Place, Exeter.

Richard the fourth had three sons: Edgell, Richard and William, the eldest being a barrister, the second a clergyman and the third a soldier, being Colonel of the 23rd Regiment, with a C.B. and the Corunna Medal for the Peninsular War. The eldest of the three sons assumed the name of Wyatt-Edgell in 1813 and so became Edgell Wyatt-Edgell. His son, Edgell, married (in 1844) Henrietta, Baroness Braye, and their son, Alfred Wyatt-Edgell, became the fifth Baron Braye. In 1880 he assumed the Braye family surname of Verney-Cave, and thus the name of Wyatt, but not the blood, disappeared from that family, although there are still Wyatt-Edgells of Cowley Place, Exeter.

Chapter 22

WYATTS OF BRAUNTON (DEVON)

THE Devon Visitation of 1620 gives a pedigree of four generations of a family commencing with John Wyatt of Braunton, who was born about 1480-90. This pedigree covers a period of about 150 years. There was no reference to them in the earlier Visitations of 1531 and 1564 and it may be that they were not armigerous until the third generation.

The second generation consisted of two brothers, of whom Philip, the younger one, was Steward and Town Clerk of Barnstaple for some years, notably in 1569/70, and was the father of eight sons and three daughters, the third and most interesting generation. The eldest son, George, was a Bencher of the Inner Temple and a Justice who sat at the local Barnstaple Assizes. He died without issue. The second son, Hugh, was also a lawyer and a member of the Inner Temple, to which he was admitted in 1560. He was, however, expelled in 1572, for some reason, but was re-admitted in 1577, called to the Bar in 1580 and was subsequently Auditor and Steward of his Inn. In 1566, prior to his expulsion from the Inner Temple, he married Mary a daughter of John Bourchier, second Earl of Bath of Tavistock Court, near Barnstaple, but she died in 1613 without issue. Hugh then married Mary Hill, by whom he had one son John (born 1617) and one daughter. Philip's third son William, had sons, but apparently no later issue. The fourth son Nicholas, was a lawyer and a Judge of the Court of Admiralty. He also presided over the Archdeacon's Court at Barnstaple, but died without issue.

Thomas Wyatt, the fifth son, married in 1569 as his second wife, Margaret Risdon, an aunt of Tristram Risdon the antiquary who wrote his "Survey of Devon" between 1605 and 1630. Thomas left two sons.

Adam, the sixth son, left issue but nothing much is known of him. The seventh son Philip, was not only his father's namesake, but he succeeded him as Town Clerk of Barnstaple, a post which the son held from 1583 until 1608 when, although married, he died without issue. During the period of his office as Town Clerk, Philip wrote a Diary containing much which is of interest of the life and of the local events of his times. There are references to the capture of French ships as prizes by Sir Richard Grenville in 1586 and to the departure

of five ships which were sent over the Bar at Barnstaple to join Sir Francis Drake at Plymouth to fight the Spanish Armada. He describes how in 1591 the report came that Sir Richard Grenville and his ship the Revenge had been destroyed after encountering the whole Spanish Fleet for two days. In 1593 arrived at Barnstaple the "Prudence" bringing much booty from the capture of Cadiz.

The eighth son of Philip Wyatt, John, was also a lawyer of the Inner Temple. He married Frances Chichester and left two sons, of whom the elder, Philip the third, was Deputy Recorder of Barnstaple but was dismissed that post by reason of age and imbecility in 1656.

This family of Wyatt was not a prolific one in the later generations, though some male members were alive in 1620 and later. The Arms which they bore, as given in the Devon Visitation of 1620, were "Per fesse Gules and Azure a pair of barnacles Argent". This resembles the Arms of the Wyots of Yorkshire and of Kent which were "Parted per fesse Azure and Gules, a barnacle Argent"; the only difference being the reversal of the tinctures. The Arms of the Wyots of Bucks had other tinctures, they being "Per fesse Sable and Argent, a horse-barnacle of the second". Except for the resemblance in Armorial Bearings, there is no evident genealogical link to connect the Devon family with those of Kent or of Bucks.

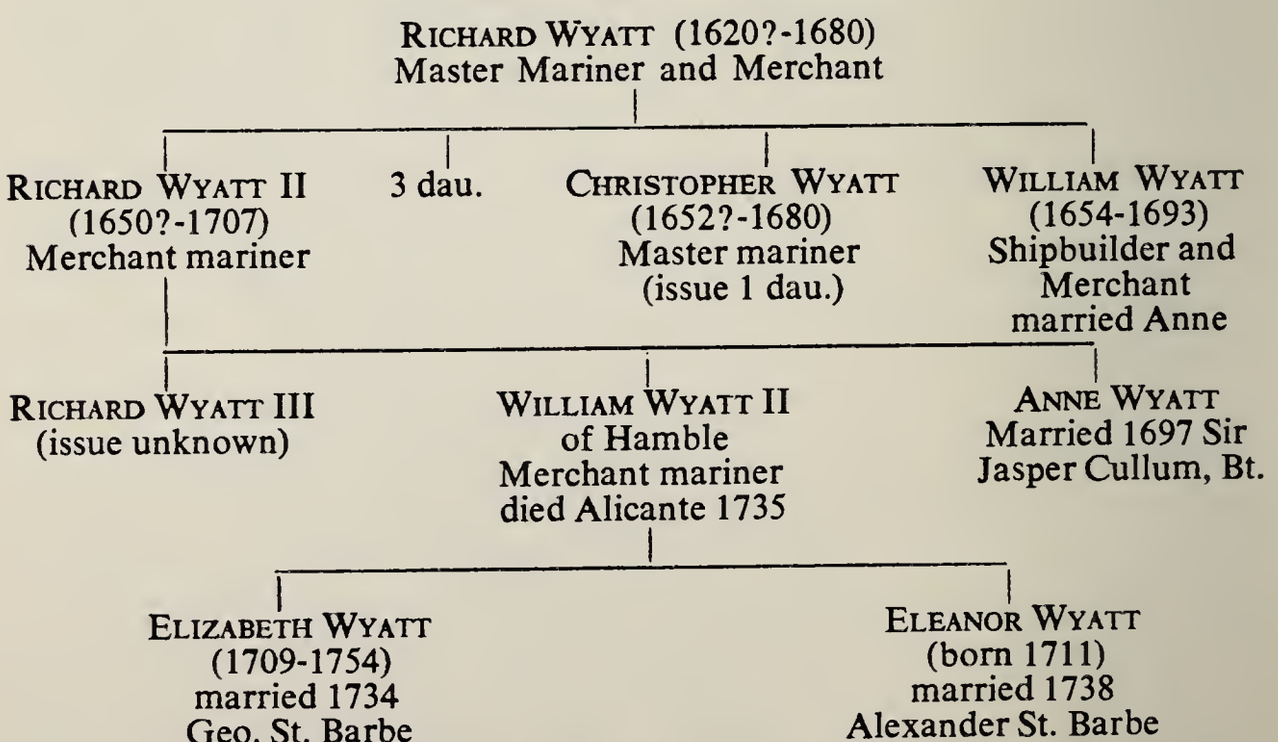
Chapter 23

HAMPSHIRE

THERE WAS a family named Wyatt which, during the 17th and 18th centuries, flourished as Merchant-Mariners and Shipbuilders at Bursledon on the river Hamble which runs north up the mainland off Southampton Water. The river, from Hamble at its mouth for three miles up to Bursledon, was wide and deep enough for ships up to 1,200 tons, with quays and wharves for trading purposes and with a spacious yard for building large ships. It was a haven protected by nature from raids by privateers and pirates.

Whether this family sprang from Wyatts already in Hampshire or whether they came from another County is unknown. The earliest of them appears to have been a Richard Wyatt, a ship-owning Merchant whose life covered the reign of Charles the First and the period of the Commonwealth, down to the Restoration.

The three known generations were as follows: —



When Richard Wyatt reached manhood, the Civil War was raging in England. Under the Protectorate, we were at war with the Dutch from 1652 until 1654 and, two years later, with Spain. In 1659 we patched up Peace with both these countries and in 1662 we sold

Dunkirk to France for a substantial sum of money but without being able to foresee, of course, that during the subsequent wars against France, Dunkirk would become a haven for French privateers to inflict enormous damage on our merchant shipping; just as in the 1914-18 World War Zeebrugge provided a similar base for German U-Boats. In 1665 came the Second Dutch War, when Van Ruyter sailed up the Thames, capturing or destroying many of our warships. There followed a few years of peace before we were again at war against Holland in 1672, but not for long. A few years later, after the Accession of William of Orange and Mary in 1689, Holland became our ally in a war against France which lasted for eight years until the Peace of Ryswick.

In the then state of Europe, however, peace was usually dictated by convenience or exhaustion. Even if the fighting had more or less satisfied the offensive, or defensive, objectives of the victor, it was at the cost of creating resentment and a desire for revenge in the heart of the vanquished. Consequently, for such reasons or others, peace was often more of an armistice or a truce for a few years until another reason or pretext for fighting occurred again. So it was after the Peace of Ryswick, for four years later commenced the thirteen years of the War of the Spanish Succession between England and her Allies against France, during which war Marlborough won his famous victories of Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde and Malplaquet, resulting in the Peace of Utrecht in 1713.

This long and almost continuous state of warfare in the Narrow Seas increased the normal risks from weather and pirates which had to be run by merchant-adventurers, such as Richard Wyatt and his sons and grandsons, in those days. In their pinnaces of 50 or 60 tons or their sloops which were not much larger; sailing between Bursledon and the ports of France and Portugal, and even as far as the eastern ports of Spain, they lived a tough and rough life, selling, buying and bartering their goods.

When Richard died in 1680 "weak in body but of good memory", he was able to leave legacies of £150 to each of his three daughters and a substantial residue in cash, ships and property among his three sons. A legacy of £150 does not seem much today but some idea of its then value is indicated by the fact that, a few years previously, Samuel Pepys declared that he felt rich when he obtained a salary of £350 as Clerk of the Acts of the Navy and one of the four Principal Officers of the Navy Board.

Of Richard's three sons, Richard II carried on his father's business as a Merchant; Christopher was a Master Mariner who died young during the same year as his father (and perhaps at sea), the

third son, William, being a Ship-builder as well as a Merchant. Richard II left larger legacies to his sons and daughters than his father had been able to, and he left the residue of his estate, including ships and Navy Bills, to his sons.

As to William Wyatt I, it is possible that he started the ship-building yard for the construction of merchant ships. In any case, his yard was ready in 1691 to take on a contract from the Navy Board for the building of a Third Rate Ship of the Line, HMS Devonshire, one of the 27 new ships to be built under the new programme laid down by King William and Parliament and which was required owing to the unsettled state of Europe and the threatening outlook of war against France.

Wyatt's yard built the following ships for the Navy during the reinforcement period from 1690 to 1694: —

Ship	*Contract*	*Launched*	*Tons*	*Cost*
Devonshire	1691	1692	1160	£12,690
Winchester	1692	1693	934	£9,140
Lancaster	1693	1694	1198	£12,807
Cumberland	1694	1695	1220	£12,800

Devonshire. Lancaster and Cumberland were Third Rates with 80 guns and a complement of 476 men. Winchester was a Fourth Rate, with 60 guns and 346 men. The remainder of the 27 ships were built by the Royal dockyards and by other contractors.

Although the Navy Board had undertaken in their contracts to make payments at stipulated intervals, according to the progress made in construction, yet in fact the instalments fell greatly in arrear. In the Public Record Office there are several original letters exchanged between William Wyatt and "The Honourable Principal Officers and Commissioners of Their Majesties' Navy", notably in July, October and November, 1692, asking for a payment on account of the building of the Devonshire and the Winchester. Wyatt explained that he was already out-of-pocket to the extent of £6,600 which "is too much for my ability to stand to carry on the workes which at present lie upon me". This was a very large sum in those days and it should not have had to be borne by him. He had the greatest difficulty in paying his wages and in buying the necessary materials for the ships. In his letter of the 9th November, he also asked for protection by convoy for his own vessels, the Elizabeth and the Joan, which he used for the transport of his ship-building requisites and of merchandise for his other business. The Elizabeth had a master and a crew of four; the Joan a master and two men. The necessity of convoy indicates the dangers at that time from French privateers from Dunkirk, Brest and other ports which infested the Channel and even the Mediterranean.

William Wyatt died of smallpox in June 1693, when only forty years old. He left his widow Anne a cash legacy of £3,000 and their only child Anne, £2,000 and "all the guineas and broad pieces of gold in my possession". But those cash legacies may have been subject to the Widow's liquidation of the complicated financial situation in which she found herself on her husband's sudden death. She was then thirty-five years old and, it may be assumed, quite inexperienced in ship-building, in finance and in business generally. She must have been a remarkable woman. There were ships on the stocks in varying stages of completion and she was very short of working capital, with the Navy Board owing her £6,600. This was enough to daunt most inexperienced women, or men for that matter, and her only assets, apart from her courage, was that she had experienced ship-wrights and workmen and a good supervisor, named Herring, who was capable of carrying out the contracts, subject to the money being found.

In July, a month after the death of her husband, Anne Wyatt wrote to the Navy Board to inform them of the situation which had arisen and to assure them that, in co-operation with Richard Herring, she would do her best to fulfil the contracts, provided the Board paid her the overdue instalments without further delay. She followed this up by going to London herself, probably with Herring to assist and advise her, in order to give the Board all the information and reassurances possible. Perhaps she sailed to London in her sloop "Elizabeth", taking Anne, her young daughter, then about thirteen years old.

It was, however, several months later before she got the outstanding sum of £6,600 and later still before the Board paid her a sum of £900 due on a small ship for which her husband had obtained a contract just before his death. Finally, Anne Wyatt appears to have completed all her contracts and to have liquidated the complex financial situation with which she had been faced. Exactly for how long she continued to supervise her business is unknown but, in 1705, when she was 47 years old, she married a certain Michael Brixey and went to live at Hawsted in Suffolk, near her daughter Anne, who in 1697, had married Sir Jasper Cullum of that place. Anne, the mother, outlived her second husband by many years and she was within a few months of 100 when she died in January 1757. In Hawsted Church there is a memorial to Dame Anne Cullum, wife of Sir Jasper Cullum, Bt., showing the Arms of Cullum and of Wyatt, the latter being "Gules on a fesse Or three lions rampant Sable between three boars' heads erased Argent". These Arms are similar to those granted to Sir Henry Wyatt of Kent in 1507/8, except that his boars' heads were couped and not erased. These Arms of Anne Cullum are

the only indication that the Wyatts of Bursledon bore Arms or that they may have claimed kinship and descent from the Wyatts of Kent. On the memorial to Anne Cullum, it is stated that "she lived and died a pattern of piety, charity and humility".

Of the third generation of the Wyatts of Bursledon, nothing is known of Richard III. There was a contemporary of his name, Richard Wyatt, who in 1690 was a Lieutenant in the Navy and who commanded various ships of war between 1693 and 1703, among them being the "Winchester" of which he was Captain in 1701 and which ship had been built by William Wyatt at Bursledon in 1692/3. Richard Wyatt fought in the Dutch War and in the French War and he died at Leghorn in December, 1703, while in command of the "Somerset", a Third-Rate of 80 guns. The other son of Richard II was William Wyatt II who was born about 1681 and was a Merchant-mariner, like his father. He died in 1735 at Alicante in Spain and evidently in his ship. His Will, which was made there, was witnessed by two members of the St. Barbe family of Bitterne (Hants), George and Alexander. The former had married in 1734 Elizabeth, one of William Wyatt's daughters and he may have been a partner of his father-in-law in the venture to Alicante. His half-brother, Alexander St. Barbe, married in 1738, Eleanor, another daughter of William Wyatt and the widow of a mariner, Thomas West.

The pedigree of the Bursledon Wyatts as shown above is obviously incomplete, for Wyatts built ships of war at Bucklers' Hard near Beaulieu and just west of Southampton for some years after the death of the last Wyatt recorded in the pedigree. It seems possible that the Bursledon Wyatts moved to Buckler's Hard and that it was the same Firm which built the following ships for the Navy of King George the Second and for the War of the Austrian Succession, of which the chief land battles were those of Dettingen and Fontenoy.

1739	at Buckler's Hard	HMS Lyme	24 guns, 160 men
1745	at Buckler's Hard	HMS Surprise	24 guns, 160 men
1746	at Buckler's Hard	HMS Scorpion	18 guns, 110 men
1749	at Buckler's Hard	HMS Woolwich	44 guns, 300 men

The Wyatts appear to have stopped ship-building in 1749 and to have been succeeded at Buckler's Hard by Henry Adams and his sons until 1818.

At Bursledon, the Wyatt's Yard was taken over by Philemon Ewer, who built several warships there until he died in 1750.

There was a family of several brothers named Wyatt, born at the end of the 17th century, who lived in and around Hythe, a little port on the west bank of Southampton Water, and whose descendants are alive today.

The records of their forbears were probably contained in the old Parish Registers of Dibden (of which Hythe then formed a part) all of which were completely destroyed when a German airman, returning from bombing Southampton in 1940, dropped incendiaries on Dibden Church and burnt the Registers, of which unfortunately no copies or transcripts had been made. Thus, through lack of foresight and precaution, the Parish records of many local families were lost for ever.

One of the brothers was named Joseph. He was a prosperous Timber and General Merchant in Hythe and it is not improbable that he supplied New Forest oak and other materials to his contemporaries (who were perhaps his kinsmen) the Wyatts, who were then building ships of War at Buckler's Hard, near Beaulieu. He owned a good deal of land and other property in the neighbouring parishes of Dibden and Fawley, as well as in Hythe itself, but owing to the early death of his only son his properties descended to his married daughters.

Most of Joseph's brothers were farmers in the neighbourhood and a son of one of them occupied Dibden Manor Farm in 1813. Some were freeholders and others tenant-farmers. In course of time, some of their descendants became impoverished to such an extent as to become dependent upon the Poor Rates which their well-to-do forbears had largely provided and which, in the capacity of Churchwardens, they had distributed. Years of depression in agriculture, accentuated at times by the Corn Laws, ruined the Yeomen class and the small farmers. There was no Farmers' Union to look after their interests and no Government support in the form of subsidies and in the fixation of prices. Banks did not rally to grant farmers temporary financial help, as they do nowadays. Consequently, after a succession of lean years, a farmer was often forced to sell his freehold for what he could get or to give up his leasehold farm because he could no longer pay the rent and taxes. Then, the outlook for himself and his sons was black indeed, for they had no aptitude for anything but agriculture. Many a young man, who at one time had good prospects, had to become a labourer on the very lands which his forefathers had owned. And this, broadly speaking, was the story of the Wyatts of Dibden and Hythe, as of so many other families throughout the land in the 18th and early 19th centuries.

Chapter 24

SOME OTHER FAMILIES

THERE WERE contemporary Wyatts in the four neighbouring Shires of (a) Worcester, (b) Gloucester, (c) Warwick and (d) Oxford during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. Whether any of them were related by blood ties is unknown, although those of Worcester and Gloucester bore similar, but not identical, Arms and Crests which were based upon those of Sir Henry Wyatt of Kent. If not kinship, the four families certainly had in common a sense of civic service, for they all produced Mayors of their respective cities.

Worcester City

Ralph Wyatt (1530-88), the son of Gabriel Wyatt a well-to-do Inn holder of Worcester who died in 1549, was High Bailiff (Mayor) of that city in 1570-2 and Member of Parliament for Worcester in 1585, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He purchased the ancient Cudeley Manor and estate in 1570 and it remained a family seat until it was sold some 70 years later by his grand-daughter. Ralph died in 1588, the year of the Spanish Armada. According to the Worcester Visitation of 1569, the Arms of Wyatt of Worcester (presumably Ralph) were "Gules on a fesse Or between three boars' heads couped close Argent a lion passant between two pheons Sable", the Crest being "A demi-lion rampant Sable holding a pheon Or". Those Arms resemble closely those of the Wyatts of Kent and Sussex.

Ralph's son William Wyatt (1558-1632) was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1589, after taking an Oxford degree. He became Town Clerk and Escheator of Worcester. In 1625 he was among those gentlemen who were fined Ten pounds for refusing knighthood on the occasion of the accession of King Charles the First. He had no son, but a daughter Frances (born about 1590) who married a namesake Richard Wyatt by whom she had a son Francis Wyatt born in 1632. William Wyatt's Arms appear on a Memorial in St. Alban's Church, Worcester, as "Or on a fesse Gules between three boars' heads couped Sable as many mullets Argent", with the Motto "Endure and Hope." Mullets, instead of lions or pheons, are rare in Wyatt Arms though Roger Twysden, in his Roll dated 1578, does

give for Wyatt exactly similar Arms as those borne by William Wyatt of Worcester above.

The Richard Wyatt who married Frances, William's only child, about 1630 was apparently not a Worcester man. As will be seen later, there was a Richard Wyatt of Stratford-on-Avon who was born in 1592 and so was about the same age as Frances Wyatt of Worcester. Although Stratford and Worcester are only just over twenty miles apart as the crow flies, it is sheer speculation that there may have been this marriage link between the two families.

There was another Worcester family who were presumably cousins of those mentioned above. The first of them to be noted was Edmund Wyatt (1606-1684) who married twice and had five sons. His Arms (in St. Alban's Church) are identical with those of William Wyatt, except that the mullets are gold instead of silver. His Crest, however, was "A buck trippant regardant Gules." His eldest son, also named Edmund (1651-1726), also married twice and also had five sons, though three of them died in infancy. This Edmund was Mayor of Worcester in 1695/6. He was a public-spirited and benevolent man who founded and endowed "Wyatt's Hospital" in his City. He bore the same Arms as his father.

It appears that one of these Edmund Wyatts, either the father or the son, disclaimed Arms (or was disclaimed by the Herald) at the Worcester Visitation of 1682/3 (temp. Charles II). It is not easy to explain this in view of the fact that the Memorials to each Edmund in St. Alban's Church (dated 1684 and 1724) show their Arms, and also because the Arms of Wyatt of Worcester appear in the earlier Worcester Visitation of 1569. It is a fact, however, that no less than 4,300 men were disclaimed by Heralds during the 17th century. In most cases this was because claimants to Armorial Bearings failed to attend the Herald's summons to appear and to produce evidence of right to their claim. It may be that the elder Edmund failed to attend by reason of his age; he then being 77 years old, and that he was disclaimed by the Herald *in absentia.*

TEWKESBURY (GLOUCESTERSHIRE)

In April 1555 (during the reign of Philip and Mary) a Lease was renewed for 21 years, under the Patent Rolls, of the Ferry across the Severn at Tewkesbury in favour of a William Wyatt who was described as a Yeoman of the Guard. He had already held such a lease for some years. Under the grant, he had the monopoly of

transport of men and goods across the river at fixed charges and the use of a Barge of six tons, as well as boats, for this purpose, together with a messuage and some land. This appears to have been of the nature of a reward for his services as a Yeoman or in some other way. Wyatt may have been one of the 500 Yeomen Extraordinary who were engaged at about that time to reinforce the Guard but who carried out duties not connected with the personal Guard of the Sovereign; a kind of Reserve who were employed, from time to time, on special duties and not necessarily in London. William Wyatt married Elizabeth, daughter of John Nauphan of Birchmorton (Worcs.) and died in 1588, the year of the Spanish Armada, in which year Ralph Wyatt of Worcester also died. William left a son who died in 1598, a grandson who died in 1653 and a great-grandson who died in 1719; all three of them named John.

The Arms of this family, according to the Gloucester Visitation of 1623, were "Or on a fesse Gules between three boars' heads erased close Sable as many mullets of the field." Their Crest was "On a mound Vert a buck couchant regardant Gules attired Argent pierced with an arrow Argent." These Arms and the Crest are very similar to those of the Worcester family, to whom the Tewkesbury family were probably related.

STRATFORD-ON-AVON (WARWICKSHIRE)

The Parish Registers of Stratford-on-Avon commence in the year 1558, six years after the Borough had been incorporated and had been granted a Charter by Edward the Sixth. From those Registers and the Borough Records, and particularly from the interesting books by Mr. Edgar Fripp, much can be gleaned about the family of Shakespeare and of contemporary families and events in Stratford.

John Shakespeare, the father of the Immortal Bard William married Mary Arden in or about 1557 and had four sons and a daughter. William, their eldest surviving son, was born in April 1564. John Shakespeare, a glover by trade, was one of the two Borough Chamberlains from 1561 until 1565, in which capacity they were responsible for the collection of the revenues and the payment of the expenses of the Borough; in other words, they were the Treasurers. In 1565 John was elected Alderman, in 1568/9 Bailiff (Mayor) and in 1571 Chief Alderman and Deputy Mayor. He died in 1601, at the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

A successor to John Shakespeare in these civic posts some thirty

or forty years later was a certain William Wyatt who was born seven years before his great contemporary William Shakespeare. Wyatt was a prosperous corn dealer and maltster in Stratford-on-Avon; a worthy citizen who took a great interest in local affairs. He was looked upon as a particularly law-abiding man and was described as "generosus," that is a man of good family who was not necessarily armigerous. He was Borough Chamberlain in 1597/8/9 and the Borough Records indicate that, in the Spring of 1598, he purchased from William Shakespeare, the poet, a load of stone to be used by the Corporation for the repair of Clopton Bridge which had been built by Sir Hugh Clopton and presented by him to the Town when he was Lord Mayor of London in 1492. This stone came from New Place, the house which the poet had purchased in 1597 and which had just been restored and repaired by him for his habitation. The house had barns, gardens and orchards and had cost him £60, a fairly large sum in those days.

In 1605/6 William Wyatt was Bailiff, as he was again in 1619/20, having been High Alderman in between. Soon after his first election in May 1605, Wyatt gave a banquet to his colleagues in his house in Sheep Street which had been burnt down by the fire of 1595 and which he had rebuilt in a way worthy of his position.

But it was in the following November 1605 that Wyatt's term of office became unexpectedly noteworthy for him, for he was called upon to play a part, a small part, in connection with the round-up of the conspirators of the Gunpowder Plot. Warwickshire was a centre for several of them, including Catesby, Winter, Everard Digby and Ambrose Rookwood, the last-named having rented Clopton House, on the borders of Stratford, for that very purpose.

It was, of course, during the night of the 4th November that Guy Fawkes was arrested in the vaults of a house adjoining Parliament House, the Privy Council having obtained knowledge of the plot. The alarm thus being given, the other conspirators, most of whom had congregated in London for the opening of Parliament and for the event, fled. The hue and cry for their capture started at once.

On the morning of the 6th November a King's Messenger arrived at Stratford, post-haste from London, with orders to the Sheriff of Warwickshire and to the Bailiffs of Stratford and other towns to take immediate steps to trace and capture any of the conspirators and to discover any evidence of their guilt. Wyatt, as Bailiff, acted promptly. He called together the constables and armed them, collected all the gunpowder in the town and, with an armed party, raided Clopton House to search for Ambrose Rookwood and any incriminating evidence. But Rookwood had left Clopton for London ten days pre-

viously, taking with him his fine lot of horses which, otherwise, would have come in useful for the King's Messenger and his escort on their return journey to London. Nevertheless, Wyatt was able to arrest one man at Clopton and he was promptly clapped in the gaol. Also, he found a deal of papers, crosses, crucifixes, and vestments used by the papists, and he reported to London.

It was on the 8th November that most of the fugitives were captured, near the Staffordshire border, and in the scuffle Catesby and Winter were shot and killed by arrows from cross-bows. Guy Fawkes, Ambrose Rookwood and others were hanged at Westminster in the following January.

One can imagine the King's Messenger and his escort riding post-haste the 115 miles or so from London to Stratford, probably by way of Oxford and Chipping Norton. The roads were bad even in dry summer but in November they were probably deep in mud and, in some places, almost impassable. The journey could not be accomplished within a winter's daylight and travelling by night, with no lights visible even in towns and villages, would be slow. In fact, a horseman was content, in the ordinary way in those days, to do 30 miles a day, though post-haste and with frequent changes of horses it was done in time for Wyatt to make his raid on Clopton on the 6th November and for the messenger to return to London with Wyatt's report without delay.

Among those in Stratford who were very active in trying to round up anyone connected with the Plot was Sir Fulke Greville, a poet and a friend of Sir Philip Sidney and a big landowner in Warwickshire. Greville had been Knight of the Shire and, later on (from 1614 until 1620) was Chancellor of the Exchequer. One of his minor posts was that of Recorder of Stratford-on-Avon and on Christmas Eve in 1599 he invited the Mayor and Corporation to take wine with him at his house. William Wyatt, who was then Chamberlain, was in the party and had a great regard for Greville as a man. As Recorder, however, Wyatt grumbled that he did very little for his fee of forty shillings. This indicated that Wyatt spoke his mind, even about important and powerful people, and that he was not a yes-man.

William Wyatt's second term as Mayor in 1619 was not marked by anything outside normal local affairs. One storm in a tea-cup arose from question of replacing the old Vicar by another. This split the Corporation, the Churchwardens and the citizens into two parties; one for and the other against. This led to an incident which, although of no importance in itself, was described by the other side as "riotous behaviour" by some of the younger men, including some of William Shakespeare's friends and relatives. One of the so-called

"rioters" was Richard Wyatt, who was described as "son of the law-abiding Alderman."

William Wyatt had married at Stratford in 1586. He lived to a good old age until the middle of the reign of Charles the First. He had three sons, Richard, William and John, the first two of whom married and had sons, and his descendants lived in Stratford and the neighbourhood certainly until the 18th century.

There were at least two mediaeval Religious-Social Guilds in the 15th century and earlier. One was at Knowle, about ten miles from Birmingham and equidistant from Coventry and Warwick, and about fifteen miles north of Stratford-on-Avon. Another was in Stratford-on-Avon itself and was known as "The Guild of the Holy Cross, the Blessed Mary and St. John the Baptist."

They were associations of persons of good standing who were known as the Brothers and Sisters, and they were banded together for mutual aid, benefits and protection. Their objects included religious worship, education, aid in sickness and in poverty and all kinds of charitable work. The members had to pay entrance fees and annual subscriptions and those who could afford it were expected to make donations as well. These Associations even provided burials for poor deceased members and masses to be said for their souls. They appear to have fulfilled the role of modern Friendly Societies, as distinct from the Guilds of the Merchants and Crafts; the predecessors of our modern Trade Unions. Lists of the members of some of those Guilds are in existence today and, as they cover the period before Parish Registers were started, they have a genealogical value.

The Knowle Register of members contains the names of several Shakespeares between 1457 and 1526, including an Isabel Shakespeare who had been Prioress of Wroxall and for whose soul an oratory was sung in 1504. It also contains the names of Wyatts in 1496 and 1500. On the other hand, the Register of members of the Stratford-on-Avon Guild, which covers the period from 1406 to 1535, contains no Shakespeare and no Wyatt.

As the earliest known Warwickshire Shakespeare was a Thomas Shakespeare, a mercer of Coventry in the middle of the 14th century, it may be that the Stratford-on-Avon Shakespeares hailed from Coventry and that the Wyatts came to Stratford from Birmingham or from Coventry.

Families of Wyatt have been spread over Oxfordshire for a very long time before the institution of Parish Registers. In Ducklington, for example, where Cheneys held land in the 12th century, Wyatts were rectors during three generations four hundred years later, in the 16th and 17th centuries. Other Wyatts lived in Copredy, Barford and Horspath; places previously haunted by Cheneys. Although several of these Wyatts were Churchwardens, others got into trouble for various offences against the Church. In King's Sutton a John Wyatt was presented in 1610 for leaving Church during a sermon, and in Marsh Badon in 1685 Richard Wyatt and his wife were presented by the Churchwarden, who was none other than William Cheney, for not attending the Sacrament.

There was a well-known family of Wyatts living in Banbury during the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries, and possibly earlier. The first known of them was a Charles Wyatt, a mercer, who was Mayor of Banbury in 1761 and who died in the following year, leaving two sons, Charles and Thomas.

The elder son Charles (1758-1821) was a Banker in Banbury and was Mayor in 1791, 1800, 1807 and 1818. He acquired the advowson of the Rectory of Broughton, near Banbury, and in Broughton Church there is a memorial to him showing his Arms as "Per fesse Azure and Gules, a pair of barnacles Argent ringed Or." Those are the ancient Wyatt Arms which were borne by the Wyots of Buckinghamshire (Chapter 12) and by the Wyatts of Kent. It is believed that Charles Wyatt claimed descent from John Wyatt, the youngest son of Haute Wyatt of the Kent family, to whom a reference is made in Chapter 17.

Charles the Banker had a son Charles Francis Wyatt who took Holy Orders and was presented by his father to the Living of Broughton, where he was Rector for 51 years from 1819 until 1870, being also a local Magistrate. He had a son, also named Charles Francis Wyatt and who also took Holy Orders. This second Charles Francis was Perpetual Curate at Forest Hill (Oxon.) for a time and succeeded his father in 1870 as Rector of Broughton until he died unmarried in 1906. He was followed as Rector of Broughton by his nephew Basil Wyatt Bradford who held the Living from 1906 until 1935 and who also was a bachelor. From the purely material angle, apart from any other, the acquisition of the Broughton advowson by Charles Wyatt the Banker in 1819 was obviously a satisfactory operation for his family, for the incumbency was held by his son, and then by his grandson and subsequently by the latter's nephew in succession and

without a break for a hundred and sixteen years from 1819 until 1935. This must be quite unusual for modern times.

The present representative (from the distaff side) of that family of Wyatts of Banbury is Colonel C. J. Bradford, unless there are any living descendants of younger brothers of Charles Wyatt the Banker.

A NOTE

This brief history refers to some of the Cheney and Wyatt families of the past but not, of course, to all of them. No attempt has been made to link them up with their descendants who are living to-day, but any communications from readers indicating such links (and *without* the enclosure of pedigrees or other documents) would be welcomed by the writer, Sir Stanley Wyatt, 39 Roland Gardens, London, S.W.7.

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